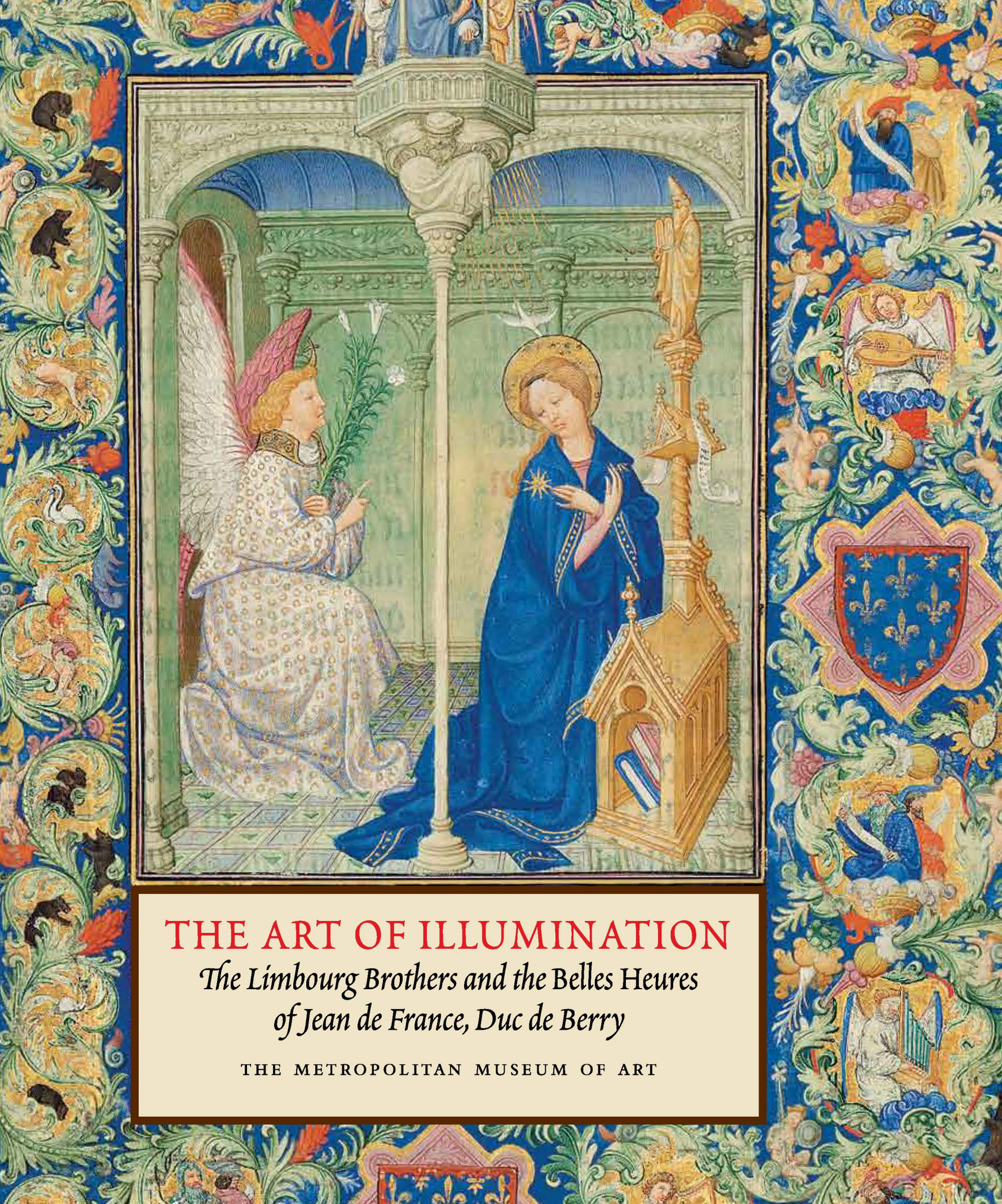
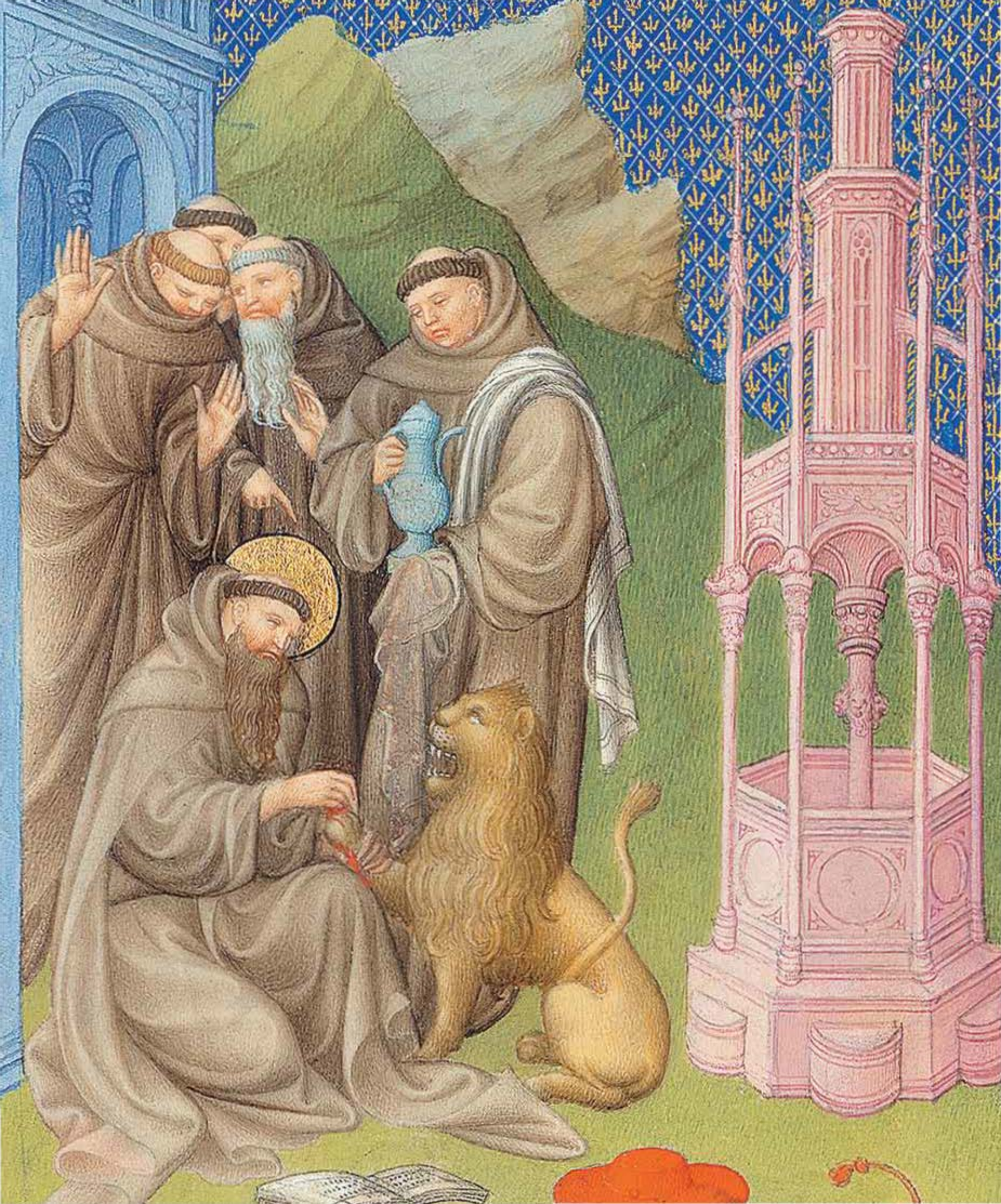


THE ART OF ILLUMINATION

The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE ART OF ILLUMINATION



THE ART OF ILLUMINATION

The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures *of Jean de France, Duc de Berry*

Timothy B. Husband

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Yale University Press, New Haven and London

This volume has been published in conjunction with the exhibition "The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the *Belles Heures* of Jean de France, Duc de Berry," held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: November 18, 2008–February 8, 2009, and at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 22, 2009–January 3, 2010.

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Herman, Paul, and Jean de Limbourg (Franco-Netherlandish, active in France by 1399–1416). *Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw*. The *Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry*, ca. 1405–1408/9. Made in Paris. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum; single leaf, overall: 9⅜ × 6⅝ in. (23.8 × 17 cm); double leaf, overall: 9⅜ × 13⅜ in. (23.8 × 34.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1, fol. 186v, detail)

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Contents

Director's Foreword PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO vii

Acknowledgments viii

Preface x

Introduction: The *Belles Heures* of Jean de France 2

Jean de France, Duc de Berry 10

The Limbourg Brothers 32

Structure and Summary of the Manuscript 46

Collation 56

Page Organization and Decoration 58

Sequence of Production 74

Descriptions and Texts of the Miniatures 79

The Compositional Intelligence of the Narrative Cycles 264

Sources and Influences 278

The Artistic Achievements of the Limbourg Brothers 306

APPENDIX

Technical Observations: Materials, Techniques, and Conservation of the Belles Heures *Manuscript* MARGARET LAWSON 324

Family Members of Jean de France, Duc de Berry 344

Time Line 346

Schematic Chart of Calendar Pages 349

Bibliography 362

Index 369

Photography and Reproduction Credits 376

Director's Foreword

The *Belles Heures of Jean de Berry* is one of the most beautiful and richly decorated manuscripts in the world. It is a source of profound pride to have the opportunity to reintroduce this masterpiece in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art to a new generation through this publication and the exhibition that accompanies it.

The Metropolitan is an encyclopedic museum, dedicated to preserving the best works of art created over the millennia. Each of its treasures encompasses a specific time and place as well as a history extending both before and after its creation. The manuscript known as the *Belles Heures* (ca. 1405–1408/9) not only puts us in touch with the France of the late Middle Ages—it also brings us close to a book whose pages were turned by a prince of the realm and subsequently owned by a succession of the rich and powerful of later ages. It presents the magnificent artistry of three of the great illuminators of Europe: Herman, Paul, and Jean de Limbourg. It also shows us the exceptional work of the nameless individuals who prepared the animal skin to make the vellum, scored the lines, wrote the script, painted the borders, and gilded the leaves.

The manuscript was made for one of the most famous and exacting art patrons of all time: Jean de France, duc de Berry. Jean de Berry commissioned numerous works in many media, from gold chalices to castles, but he is remembered most for his patronage of manuscripts, especially the personal prayer books known as Books of Hours. He fostered the creativity of many artists, but preeminent among them were three very young men, the Limbourg brothers. The present volume tells how a great manuscript came to be made through the unusually close relationship between patron and artists.

In this volume all of the sumptuous illuminations of the precious manuscript are reproduced in color in a publication accessible to everyone, and many of them are shown at the same size as the original. Each picture, though in the small scale of a book for solitary devotion, has the breadth and detail of a far more monumental work of art. Leafing through these pages, we are brought into the world of the early 1400s, full of contrasts: nobles and peasants, pleasure and horror, sanctity and violence. Here we see the stories of the Virgin and of Christ, saints, kings, queens, victims of the plague, and Jean de Berry himself. Transcending these narratives is the luminous command of color and light that are the hallmarks of the Limbourgs' palette: rich, bright, and yet full of subtlety.

This publication was written by Timothy B. Husband, curator in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, and the principal "keeper" of the *Belles Heures* over decades of scholarship. His close reading of the images brings details to light that might otherwise have escaped us. His reviews of the literature on the manuscript, its patron, and its artists unites the scholarship, creating a veritable anatomy of a chef d'oeuvre. Margaret Lawson, associate conservator in the Department of Paper Conservation, who has labored for many hours conserving the manuscript and examining it under high magnification, provides invaluable insight into its physical properties and techniques of manufacture. The book allows us to turn the pages and reclaim the relationship of image and reader for which the illuminations were designed.

I am especially grateful to Michel David-Weill, whose generosity has made possible this exhibition and publication.

Philippe de Montebello
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

In 1972 the overly tight seventeenth-century binding of the *Belles Heures* was removed and replaced with a modern one. In the course of this work I had the opportunity to examine this exceptional manuscript close at hand for the first time and immediately fell under the thrall of the Limbourg brothers' illuminations. It is thus fair to say that this book has had a gestation of more than thirty-five years, as those early encounters with the *Belles Heures* occurred that long ago. As a consequence, my indebtedness to many individuals also stretches back in time. The late Harvey Stahl, a curator in the Department of Medieval Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art at the time of the rebinding, shared with me his observations on the collation and other aspects of the manuscript. For everyone studying French manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, we are in debt to Millard Meiss, whose masterful volumes on the subject, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry,* continue to inspire. As a young curator at The Cloisters, I personally benefited from the insights of the Morgan Library's curator of manuscripts, John Plummer, whose studies of the *Belles Heures* also shaped my understanding.

Once the determination was reached to write a monograph on the manuscript, I set out to enlarge my purview, and in so doing I visited related manuscripts in many libraries, here and abroad. In every venue I was treated with unerring courtesy and allowed to examine their greatest treasures, for which I am eternally grateful. In the United States, I extend my thanks to William Voelkle of the Morgan Library and Museum, and to Thomas Kren of the J. Paul Getty Museum. In France, I would especially like to thank Emmanuelle Toulet, *conservateur en chef de la bibliothèque et des archives,* Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, France, for allowing me to study the *Très Riches Heures* of the duc de Berry for many uninterrupted hours. This world-renowned manuscript is the closest relative to the *Belles Heures,* and studying it in the original clarified for me the extraordinary achievement of the maturing Limbourg brothers. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris is the repository for many other key manuscripts, especially the most important juvenilia of the Limbourgs, the *Bible moralisée* made for Philip the Bold, as well as the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame,* the illuminations of which greatly informed the Limbourg brothers' work and to which they contributed two miniatures. At the Bibliothèque Nationale, I particularly thank Marie-Pierre Laffitte, *conservateur général, responsable des manuscrits latins,* and Marianne Besseyre, *conservateur au Centre de recherche des manuscrits enluminés* (CRME).

Just as a medieval illuminated manuscript is the work of many hands, this modern book brings together research provided by many specialists. Conservators in the Metropolitan's Department of Paper Conservation, led by Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, have for years shared their deep personal experience with the unbound folios of the *Belles Heures.* For educating me on many technical matters as well as for providing the superb technical essay in this volume, I am indebted to the creativity, skill, and knowledge of Margaret Lawson, associate conservator. Yana Van Dyke, associate conservator, also has been instrumental in the conservation of the manuscript and has shared many acute observations with me.

For scholarly insights into the Limbourg brothers I am indebted to the 2005 exhibition, "The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400–1416," and its curators, Rob Dückers and Pieter Roelofs, and to the many scholars who shared their thoughts with me at the symposium held in conjunction with the exhibition. For the new Latin transcriptions of all the texts in the *Belles Heures* I am grateful for the meticulous work of Catherine Gros, and for the editing of the transcriptions and aid with the translations, my deepest appreciation goes to Betsy Williams. Further help with translations came from Tom Di Salvo, for Eriksen Translations, Inc. Elizabeth A. Monti compiled material that formed the basis of the historical overview in the first chapter. Wendy A. Stein provided essential historical, genealogical, and picture research, while also assisting with the coordination of many aspects of the book's production.

An early draft of this book was kindly vetted by a small group of esteemed scholars and friends. These readers patiently waited for chapters and promptly responded with insightful comments that were both exceedingly helpful and supportive. These readers were Christopher de Hamel, Gaylord Donnelley Fellow Librarian, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, England; Thomas Kren, senior curator of manuscripts, the J. Paul Getty Museum; Stephen K. Scher; Mary B. Shepherd; and William D. Wixom,

curator emeritus, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The text greatly benefited from their critical readings, and they are blameless for any errors or other shortcomings of the text. While he was a curator at The Cloisters, Julien Chapuis (now deputy director of the Skulpturensammlung, the Bode Museum, Berlin, Germany) read early drafts with thoughtfulness and offered innumerable helpful suggestions and encouraging remarks. He also edited the translations of the French prayers.

Bringing the draft to the form of a finished volume involved another group of individuals deserving of my thanks. I am grateful to John P. O'Neill, publisher and editor in chief at the Metropolitan, for his support of the project and understanding of its scope. I extend thanks also to Gwen Roginsky, general manager of publications. Elizabeth L. Block was incredibly patient and detail oriented as an editor, and not only improved the text but managed its passage from draft to finished volume. The bibliographic editor, Jean Wagner, asked pertinent questions and clarified citations. The elegant design is the fruit of the artistry of Bruce Campbell. The quality of the production of the volume was assured by Peter Antony, chief production manager, with the assistance of Bonnie Laessig, production assistant. Jane S. Tai, publication project coordinator, gathered illustrations and cleared the rights for their publication.

I am fortunate to be supported in all my work at the Metropolitan by a number of individuals who made significant contributions to this book. The Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, Peter Barnet, has been both supportive and encouraging throughout. Michael Carter, assistant museum librarian at The Cloisters, tirelessly arranged for interlibrary loans and compiled the extensive bibliography. Christine E. Brennan, collections manager, set up systems for tracking individual leaves of the manuscript and was indispensable in the administration of the related exhibitions. Christina Alphonso and Nell Snyder were endlessly understanding and helpful. Fellow curators of western medieval art at the Metropolitan enriched my work in many collegial conversations, and I thank them: Barbara Drake Boehm, Charles T. Little, and Melanie Holcomb.

In conjunction with the publication of this volume, exhibitions of the *Belles Heures* were held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (November 18, 2008–February 8, 2009), and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (September 22, 2009–January 3, 2010). I am once again indebted to Thomas Kren for everything concerning the Getty venue: for his valued scholarship, for shepherding the project to an informative and beautiful installation, for coordinating and working with many departments at the Getty, which are also deserving of thanks. At the Metropolitan, myriad individuals made the exhibition take place: Philippe de Montebello, director, and in his office, Mahrukh Tarapor, associate director for exhibitions, and Martha Deese, senior assistant for exhibitions and international affairs. In the Counsel's office: Sharon H. Cott, senior vice president, secretary, and general counsel, Kirstie Howard, and Beth Vrabel. The management, design, and construction of the exhibition were ably executed by Linda Sylling, manager for special exhibitions, gallery installations, and design; Michael Langley, senior exhibition designer; and Taylor Miller, associate building manager. Aileen Chuk was the registrar for the exhibition. The elegantly designed frames that enabled the individual folios of the *Belles Heures* to be protected and exhibited were the craftsmanship of Jared Bark of Bark Frameworks. Elyse Topalian, deputy vice president and chief communications officer, and Egle Žygas, senior press officer, assisted with many matters of public communications. To all these, and to many more professionals at the Metropolitan not mentioned, my heartfelt thanks.

Writing this book has led me ever deeper into appreciation of the artists and artisans who created the *Belles Heures* at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Today, precisely six hundred years later, I offer my thanks to all those who gave me patient support and steadfast encouragement while producing this account of their achievement, above all, to Nicholas.

Timothy B. Husband
Curator
Department of Medieval Art
and The Cloisters
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Preface

This volume is the culmination of a career-long fascination with the manuscript known by its medieval appellation as the *Belles Heures*. A Book of Hours intended as an aid in personal devotion, the *Belles Heures* was commissioned by Jean de France, duc de Berry—son, brother, and uncle of successive kings of France—and illuminated by the Limbourg brothers, who emigrated from Nijmegen in the Netherlands to France where they worked for the Valois princes, principally for the duke of Berry. The *Belles Heures*, the only manuscript completed by the Limbourg brothers, is one of their crowning glories. Here, within one volume, are more brilliantly preserved paintings from the first decade of the fifteenth century created north of the Alps than can be found collectively on the walls of all the major museums in Europe and North America. And they are paintings not by ordinary artists, but by the most prodigiously gifted of their time. I have been privileged to return to this manuscript repeatedly over the years and more intensely so in the last several. The sheer beauty of these illuminations—the dramatic charge of the compositions, the clarity of light and the atmospheric luminosity with which they are suffused, the invention of form, and freshness and originality of palette, to say nothing of the breathtaking technique by which they are executed—never fails to astonish. I come to this study as a student, lover, and custodian of works of art in many media originating in northern Europe during the later Middle Ages. This volume is intended to introduce the general reader to the Limbourg brothers, their patron, the manuscript, its text, its illuminations, and the extraordinary artistic achievements they represent.

The exemplary studies of this manuscript that precede the present should be mentioned here. Jean Porcher, the then *conservateur* of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, published in 1953 a brief but commanding study of the *Belles Heures*, with the added virtue of illustrating most of the illuminations for the first time, albeit in black and white. The following decade saw the publication of the first volumes of Millard Meiss's magisterial study *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*; the first of the series was *The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (1967), followed by *The Boucicaut Master*, with the assistance of Kathleen Morand and Edith W. Kirsch (1968), and finally, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, with the assistance of Sharon Off Dunlap Smith and Elizabeth Home Beatson (1974). Although a number of important articles focusing on particular aspects of the *Belles Heures* have appeared in the intervening years, there seemed little room, in the wake of Meiss, for a full-scale study. In 2003 a facsimile of the manuscript was published by Faksimile Verlag Luzern in conjunction with The Metropolitan Museum of Art and was accompanied by a commentary volume authored by Eberhard König.[1] The Limbourg brothers and their illuminations were the focus of renewed attention in the catalogue *The Limbourg Brothers: Nijmegen Masters at the French Court, 1400–1416* (Nijmegen 2005), which accompanied the exhibition of the same title.[2] The *Belles Heures*, in comparison to the Limbourgs' more renowned *Très Riches Heures*, has been published relatively little, and in this arena Meiss still looms as the scholarly touchstone.

In the fourth chapter of *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, Meiss introduced the brothers as painters, acknowledging almost apologetically that he enjoyed "an advantage possessed by none of my predecessors." That advantage came in the form of "good color films of many of the miniatures."[3] Such a statement may sound somewhat quaint in this digital age, but in the 1960s when art historians relied largely on black-and-white photographs and lantern slides, color images were indeed expedient. I, too, have had benefits enjoyed by no previous author, foremost of which has been unlimited access to the manuscript for many years, and the opportunity to examine every illumination under binocular microscopy, which turns the painted surface into a veritable topographical map revealing every hair stroke. This technology has convinced me, among many other things, that the Limbourg brothers must have used magnification. Extended periods of examination also afford the luxury of rumination, and insight often comes in time as the mind slowly processes what the eye instantly sees. The present study attempts in new ways to identify the succession of challenges the Limbourg brothers set for themselves and the means by which they met them. These include, but are by no means restricted to, the creation of atmospheric landscapes through the manipulation of light and palette; the invention of figural groupings pervaded with a sense of motion and dramatic charge; the achievement of visual coherence within narrative sequences; and the imbuing of a revitalized vision of the human form with physical presence and psychological intensity.

Throughout his volumes in *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, Meiss doggedly pursued a division of hands among the Limbourg brothers, assigning virtually every miniature ascribed to

them to one or more of the brothers, while developing an evocative if imprecise profile of each: "Paul was the most perceptive, the most thoughtful, and the most deeply ambitious. Jean was the most lyrical, the most elegant, and the greatest opportunist. Herman was the most demonstrative; he can even be melodramatic."[4] The attributions have long been seen as the one weakness in Meiss's work; François Avril, then *conservateur* of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, wrote in his review of *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*: "Une seule restriction se présente cependant à l'esprit: elle tient au caractère peut-être un peu trop affirmatif de l'identification des différentes personalités artistiques distinguées par l'auteur dans l'œuvre des Limbourg, avec chacun des trois frères." (A single reservation comes to mind: it has to do with the somewhat forced identification of the different artistic personalities recognized by the author in the Limbourgs' oeuvre with each of the three brothers.)[5] He further noted that such identifications are speculative and not factual. There are perceptual stylistic differences in the illuminations of the *Belles Heures*, which are addressed in this volume, but these variant styles cannot be definitively ascribed to one or another of the brothers. This writer was perplexed to find that the underdrawings, which are only partially revealed by digital infrared photography, provide interesting information concerning compositional alterations but little regarding the brothers' individual styles.

It should be noted that the brothers—Herman, Paul, and Jean—are not directly linked to the *Belles Heures* by document: the duke's inventory says only that the manuscript was executed by "ses ouvriers" (his workers). However probable, it is a presumption only that all three brothers were illuminators and worked simultaneously on the manuscript. Furthermore, a careful study of the illuminations reveals more stylistic and technical variants than there are possible hands. This could well be accounted for—bearing in mind their youth—by stylistic and technical advances of each individual over the three highly formative years they worked on the manuscript. It has also been presumed that, because he is mentioned more frequently in the documents and appears to have been the favorite of the duke, Paul was the superior hand. As will be discussed, a few illuminations in the manuscript—*Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw* is a notable example—are of singularly high stylistic and technical attainment. If this miniature was indeed painted by the hand of Paul, then this was either his finest achievement, or his involvement in the manuscript was far more limited than previously thought. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt as to the authorship—however the work was distributed—of the illuminations in the *Belles Heures*, and subsequently the early fifteenth-century illuminations in the *Très Riches Heures*.[6] As a consequence, the illuminations throughout this volume are given to the Limbourg brothers collectively, without inference as to the individual contribution.

One must remember that the careers of all three Limbourg brothers could not have lasted more than fourteen to sixteen years, and at most, they were still young men when they died in 1416. Notwithstanding the brevity of the Limbourg brothers' careers, their artistic skills advanced rapidly and their manifest stylistic attainments in the *Belles Heures* mark the brothers' progress as illuminators, as well as the course of production of the manuscript. John Plummer, whose acuity and depth of knowledge have long impressed me, recognized this in the opening illuminations in the Hours of the Virgin,[7] and indeed an evolving style and compositional solutions can be traced throughout. The artistic and technical advances achieved by the brothers over the three years or so that they worked on the manuscript, 1405 to 1408/9, have not been adequately addressed, in large part, I suspect, because they only become apparent with close physical observation. Likewise, previous studies have tended to view the illuminations, beyond their iconographic framework, as stand-alone images. In fact, however, the brothers sought to contrive sequential compositional coherence to enhance the narrative structure of the imagery. This objective is abundantly apparent in the inserted picture cycles, a feature unique to the *Belles Heures* among all medieval Books of Hours.

In addition to the *Belles Heures*, the Limbourg brothers worked extensively on two other manuscripts: the *Bible moralisée*, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the justly famed *Très Riches Heures*, housed in the library of the Musée Condé, at the Château de Chantilly. The Limbourg brothers completed neither manuscript: work on the *Bible moralisée* was terminated by the death in 1404 of their patron, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and that on the *Très Riches Heures* by their own deaths in 1416. As in the *Belles Heures*, the Limbourg brothers faced or sought challenges in these two manuscripts—both of which I have had the rare opportunity to study close at hand—which, through artistic invention and technical prowess, they mastered. Between the three manuscripts a remarkable artistic progress can be traced. From the tentative compositions of the opening folios of the *Bible*

moralisée to the commanding illuminations of the Passion cycle in the *Très Riches Heures*, a vast artistic distance is traveled, and with remarkable swiftness. The *Belles Heures* is essential to the understanding of this progress, in part because of its completeness and pivotal position between the other two, and because it served, more than the others, as a laboratory for the Limbourg brothers in the development of their artistic vision and technical achievement. If this volume conveys a measure of the Limbourg brothers' towering attainments and insight into their progress from one to the next, then it has succeeded in its purpose.

Timothy B. Husband

1. The commentary volume was republished in an expanded format and with extensive color illustrations under the title *Die Belles Heures des Duc de Berry* (König 2004).
2. Mention should also be made of the excellent exhibition catalogue *Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris 2004a).
3. Meiss 1974, p. 111.
4. Ibid., p. 112.
5. Avril 1975, p. 44.
6. In a letter of February 14, 1881, to the duc d'Aumale, Léopold Delisle first connected the *Très Riches Heures* with the entry in the 1416 inventory of the duke of Berry that cites several quires of a sumptuous Book of Hours that was made by Pol (Paul) and his brothers (". . . plusiers cayers d'unes très riches Heures, que faisoient Pol et ses frères . . ."). The attribution of the early illuminations in the *Très Riches Heures* and of those in the *Belles Heures* to the Limbourg brothers has ever since garnered nearly universal acceptance. In recent years, only Colenbrander (1991) has seriously questioned the attribution, but the circumstantial evidence provided by numerous related documents is overwhelming and the stylistic connection unquestionable.
7. Plummer 1992.

THE ART OF ILLUMINATION

Introduction:
The Belles Heures of Jean de France

One of the transcendent masterpieces of The Cloisters Collection, the *Belles Heures* of Jean de France, duc de Berry, evolved in the course of its production from a relatively unremarkable Book of Hours into an expanded volume of unprecedented sumptuousness (fig. 1).[1] The reasons for this in-progress transformation lay in the exceptional talent of the young Limbourg brothers (Herman, Paul, and Jean), which the duke quickly recognized and readily encouraged by any means required. In 1404, Jean de Berry, who ranks as one of the greatest art patrons of all times, brought the artists into his fold after the death of his brother, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who had engaged the teenage boys to illustrate a Bible.[2] As far as we know, the first major work the duke of Berry entrusted to the Limbourg brothers was the creation of the manuscript under discussion here. As Books of Hours were the most popular books in the Middle Ages and among the most favored—and certainly the most lavish—of the duke's devotional books, it was hardly a surprising choice. Essentially prayer books for laymen and laywomen, emulating those of the clergy, Books of Hours were seen as a means of establishing a more immediate relationship with God, and more specifically with the Virgin Mary, the center of one of the most popular cults of the later Middle Ages. Based on the inventories of Robinet d'Estampes, who was the duke's *varlet de chambre* (chamberlain), and other evidence, Millard Meiss argued convincingly that work on the *Belles Heures* began about 1405 and was completed by late 1408 or early 1409.[3] The title by which this manuscript is known was provided by the inestimable Robinet in his inventory: "Item, unes belles Heures, très bien et richement historiées" (Item, a beautiful [Book of] Hours, very finely and richly illuminated).[4] At a later uncertain point, probably in 1411 or 1412, the brothers began work on the famed *Très Riches Heures*,[5] but the lives of the young artists all came to an abrupt end—possibly struck down by plague—in 1416, leaving the manuscript unfinished.

Fol. 168 (detail)

The different regard in which the two Valois princes held the Limbourg brothers is revealed in the very nature of their commissions. In 1402 Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, engaged the brothers (Paul and Jean) to "parfaire les histories d'une très belle et notable Bible" (to illuminate a very beautiful and notable Bible). The Bible referred to in this document has been identified as the *Bible moralisée* now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. fr. 166). Whether or not this linkage is correct—and there are, as discussed in a later chapter, considerable arguments against it—there is little question that the Limbourg brothers were responsible for the illuminations in the first three gatherings and the preparatory drawings in the fourth of the aforementioned *Bible moralisée*, a project they left far from complete owing to the death of the duke in 1404 (see fig. 97). *Bibles moralisées*, or Moralized Bibles, were princely and monumental undertakings calling for, in this case, more than five thousand illuminations. As a result, very few could afford one, and indeed, only seven fully illustrated examples have survived.[6] Each page had four biblical images accompanied by a biblical text paired with four "moralized images" accompanied by a "moralized text," drawn primarily from biblical commentaries. These pairs of images and texts were arranged in two columns, and here both Latin texts were rendered in French as well. The *Bible moralisée* commissioned by Philip the Bold essentially replicated one created for his father, John II the Good (1319–1364, king in 1350), between 1349 and 1352; this manuscript is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. fr. 167) (see fig. 96). The format, the architectural frames, and many of the compositions of the illuminations of the earlier version were closely followed in the later one, limiting the brothers' inventive latitude, presumably by Philip's instructions. Perhaps the duke established these parameters in light of the brothers' youth and untested abilities. But, as we shall see, the brothers, although creatively hobbled, nonetheless evinced considerable artistic development and invention in the course of their two years working on this manuscript.

Fig. 1. Herman, Paul, and Jean de Limbourg (Franco-Netherlandish, active in France by 1399–1416). The *Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry*, ca. 1405–1408/9. Made in Paris. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum; single leaf, overall: 9⅜ × 6⅝ in. (23.8 × 17 cm); double leaf, overall: 9⅜ × 13⅜ in. (23.8 × 34.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1)

Jean de Berry appears to have had no such reservations and wasted little time in engaging the Limbourg brothers after the death of his younger brother, for by the next year they were working on the *Belles Heures*. The illuminations for the readings from the Gospels and the prayers to the Virgin, among the first to be executed in the manuscript, were small in scale, many, in fact, in the same format as those in the *Bible moralisée*. In the Hours of the Virgin each Hour, as was customary, was introduced by an illumination, eight in all. But the decorative program quickly became more ambitious. Rather than a single introductory image as in most Books of Hours, each of the penitential psalms begins with an illumination. Similarly, each Hour of the Office of the Passion (a series of texts and prayers recited at specific times of the day to celebrate the mysteries of Christ's life, death, and resurrection) was given two illuminations rather than the usual one, and Matins three.

But the *Belles Heures* was elevated to unprecedented heights by the addition of seven "picture book" insertions—discussed in greater detail below—ranging in length from three to twelve full-page illuminations. These inclusions are unrelated to a conventional Book of Hours, and they served no purpose other than providing the Limbourg brothers with an expanded vehicle for their developing art and thereby increasing the visual pleasure of their supportive, and apparently indulgent, patron. The full-page format provided an expanded framework to develop a figural style of enhanced animus and articulation, to refine palette, to experiment with light and surface values, and to devise compositional formulas that focused the dramatic charge of the image. As there were no longer intervening text pages, they sought visual movement and coherence from one illumination to the next. As the manuscript progressed, the artists increasingly viewed these cycles not merely as a series of compelling iconic images, but as self-contained and visual narrative sequences. They experimented with different modes of composition and emotive content to achieve maximum narrative impact. In short, the Limbourgs approached the picture-book insertions as veritable laboratories in which they cultivated their considerable creative and painterly talents, and in which they developed their prodigious art of narrative illustration.

Far from reining in the exceptional talents of the Limbourg brothers, Jean de Berry gave them full flight. This was not the usual patron-artist relationship, as we shall see, and the duke clearly engaged the creative energy of the brothers, financing manuscript production on a scale that only a prince of the realm could afford. After the *Belles Heures* the brothers embarked on an even more ambitious project in the illumination of the *Très Riches Heures*, widely perceived to be among the finest manuscript paintings to come down to us from the late Middle Ages. The duke certainly did not undertake this vastly expensive project for need of another devotional text, for at this point he already owned fourteen Books of Hours.[7] Here, in scale and vision, the Limbourg brothers attempt to escape the confines of the manuscript page, however large its format. The compositions, whether set in a vast complex of urban architecture or in a deep, expansive landscape enriched by close observation of the natural world, are no less than panoramic (see fig. 123). Reduced figure scale relative to the compositional setting allows more sweeping prospects, whereas a brilliant range of palette and uncanny control of light reflect a heightened naturalism. Dispensing with borders altogether, these images are treated more like reduced wall or panel paintings than manuscript illuminations.[8] Indeed, some scholars have argued that eight of the full-page compositions were originally intended as independent images rather than for inclusion in the manuscript.[9]

The *Belles Heures*, with 172 illuminations, constitutes by far the Limbourg brothers' single greatest work.[10] Together, the three major manuscripts that these extraordinary artists worked on allow one to trace their astonishing artistic development over their lamentably brief careers, which for the eldest could not have been much more than some sixteen years. While ostensibly a book of private devotion, the *Belles Heures* can also be viewed as a compendium of painting far more extensive and brilliantly preserved than anything from the early fifteenth century that survives on wall or panel. It is largely from this point of view that the illuminations in this manuscript will be considered.

Books of Hours

Books of private devotion, of which the Book of Hours is the most prevalent, dominated the production of illuminated manuscripts throughout the later Middle Ages.[11] From about 1300, secular clientele for luxury illustrated manuscripts increasingly surpassed that of ecclesiastical, monastic, and academic realms, and by the fifteenth century was vastly in the majority. The reasons for the rapid growth of books of private devotion lay in part in changing religious practices, notably an increasing emphasis on the individual nature of piety by which the devout sought a more intimate and immediate connection with God, relying less and less on the intermediary role of the clergy. But, equally important was the rise of the urban middle, mercantile, and patrician classes that increasingly had money to spend on devotional books. Personal piety fueled the demand, but ostentation and sheer love of beauty contributed commensurately.

Well into the fourteenth century, lay devotion emulated liturgical practices of the clergy, particularly in the reading of the Psalms, which were recited in their entirety by ecclesiastics each week as part of the celebration of the Divine Office, the daily cycle of prayers required of priests, monks, and nuns. The Psalms are paeans to God, pleas for mercy and intercession, and laments for sins, all charged with high moral and spiritual value. Because of their beautiful language, tone, and literary qualities, Psalters were also commonly used in training individuals to read.[12] For those who could afford it, Psalters were often lavishly illustrated with cycles of Old and New Testament scenes; King David was a favored subject because he was believed to be the author of the Psalms, and also because he was perceived as an exemplar of the sinner and penitent, the mortal soul fluctuating between vice and virtue. The tradition is continued in the *Belles Heures*, as a scene from the history of David introduces each of the seven penitential psalms, often depicting the king beseeching intercession or forgiveness. The integration of text and image enlivened these books, making them at once instructional and inspirational, consequently elevating the illustrated Psalter to the preferred book of private devotion.

Eventually, Psalters were elaborated with other accessory texts. In addition to Calendars that prefaced the text and enumerated the saints and feast days (that is, the days that commemorated the saints, for the Calendar year), canticles (songs or metered hymns drawn from biblical texts), a litany of saints, as found in liturgical books, as well as the Office of the Dead (texts and prayers recited at specific hours, forming an integral part of the medieval funeral), narratives on the Passion, and a great variety of prayers determined by the patron's preferences were included. Some Psalters also serve as Books of Hours in that they contain prayers and psalms that were to be read at set times of the liturgical day known as "Hours," or "canonical Hours" (*Horae canonicae*), so called because Church regulation, or "canon," required them to be observed by all clergy. These Psalter-Hours, to which principally the Hours of the Virgin had been attached, were in use by the ordained already in the late twelfth century, and by the early thirteenth century were used by the laity as well. By the mid-thirteenth century, however, the laity preferred a prayer book without the unwieldy Psalter portion, but retaining the Hours of the Virgin and other parts, such as the Calendar, the Litany (a list of saints, each with an invocation or supplication), and the Office of the Dead. This, then, was essentially a Book of Hours.[13]

In its temporal nature the Book of Hours is more closely related to the breviary, which is a liturgical book containing all the texts and chants that constitute the Divine Office and are recited by the clergy at the eight canonical hours each day throughout the Christian year. And while the Psalter had been dropped, psalms were a major integrated component. A Book of Hours may be understood as a simplified laic form of the breviary, except that it is not structured on the Church year, but is arranged more freely, based on the practices of the individual, city, or region for which the book was intended. In fact, there were no prescribed texts for Books of Hours and no two are exactly alike.[14] It was this flexibility that made Books of Hours the most popular private devotional book, in fact, so popular that they have quite accurately been described as the "best seller" of the late Middle Ages.[15]

Although the contents of French Books of Hours could vary greatly, most of this period typically include the following components, generally in this order: a Calendar; readings from the four Gospels; two prayers to the Virgin, *Obsecro te* (I beseech you) and *O intemerata* (O immaculate); the Hours of the Virgin (the term *Hours* [*Horae*] originally referred only to this section, but now encompasses the entire book); the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit (shorter Hours or offices comprised of a series of texts and prayers recited at specific hours of the day); the seven penitential psalms and the Litany; the Office of the Dead; and the Suffrages of the saints (brief prayers or memorials to the ranks of saints invoking aid or protection).[16] In this regard (leaving aside the texts of the inserted cycles), the text of the *Belles Heures*, which follows this program, is quite ordinary. Almost all Books of Hours were illustrated—the illuminations accounted in large measure for their popularity—with luxury examples executed far more lavishly than the prosaic. In this regard, the *Belles Heures* is extraordinary, as the scope and number of illuminations were virtually unparalleled in its time.

The heart of a Book of Hours is the series of prayers known as the Hours of the Virgin, or the Little Office of the Virgin Mary, which are distributed among the eight canonical Hours: Matins (12:00 A.M.), Lauds (3:00 A.M.), Prime (the first hour, 6:00 A.M.), Terce (9:00 A.M.), Sext (12:00 P.M.), None (3:00 P.M.), Vespers (6:00 P.M.), and Compline (9:00 P.M.). Each Hour consists of psalms; hymns; canticles; prayers (*orationes*); and short statements of creed (*capitula*), interspersed with brief, sequential sentences or

phrases (antiphons, versicles, and responses). Although members of the clergy were required to observe the canonical Hours, it is unlikely that the average layperson did. Rather, the laity confined their devotions to select times during the day in church or, and this was a major change, in the privacy of one's own home.

Books of Hours reigned as the principal tools of private devotion for two and a half centuries, roughly from the fourteenth through the mid-sixteenth centuries. Already in the fifteenth century, mechanical means of reproducing both text and images were being introduced, notably block books and printed texts supplemented with woodcut or engraved plate images. The final flourish of the illuminated Book of Hours emanated from the Ghent and Bruges workshops in the opening decades of the sixteenth century. By 1550 illuminated manuscripts on vellum were essentially a thing of the past, and books printed on paper were the norm. The production of illuminated Books of Hours had flowered particularly in France, and a sizable percentage of all surviving examples are of French origin. The continuing vitality and invention that characterize generation after generation of illuminators in France is astonishing, with one of the most brilliantly fertile moments falling about 1400; the Valois courts were at the epicenter of creative activity, and the *Belles Heures* ranks as a pivotal achievement at this culminating moment of artistic efflorescence.

History of the Manuscript

All evidence suggests that the illumination of the *Belles Heures* began about 1405 on the commission of Jean de France, duc de Berry.[17] Although not explicit in the documents, there can be no doubt on stylistic grounds that the Limbourg brothers were responsible for the illuminations—we assume Herman, Paul, and Jean, although this is nowhere specified. As discussed in greater detail below, the *Belles Heures* was entered into Robinet's fourth account as item 960 sometime in 1408 and before July 9, 1409.[18] After the duke's death in the Hôtel de Nesle in Paris on June 15, 1416, the manuscript remained in his estate, as his possessions were inventoried and his debts settled. In 1417 the manuscript was purchased by Yolande of Aragon, duchess of Anjou.

To judge from a number of provincial manuscripts of the period that reprise many of its compositions, the *Belles Heures* remained in the region of the Anjou for at least several decades. No history of it is known from that point until May 1879 when its rediscovery, in the possession of Pierre-Gabriel Bourlier, baron d'Ailly,[19] was announced to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres by Léopold Delisle, then director of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[20] Between 1880 and 1884 it had come into the possession of Edmond James de Rothschild (1845–1934),[21] who resided in Paris at 41 Faubourg Saint-Honoré, now the residence of the American ambassador. After the death of Edmond de Rothschild, his collection of manuscripts was evaluated and divided into three groups of equal value and range of type, as to be equitably distributed among his three children. Number 18 on the evaluation list is "Hours of the Duke of Berry 10,000 (£)," which fell in the group that went to Maurice de Rothschild (1878–1957).[22] Maurice left Paris for Montreal in July 1940 shortly after the Nazis occupied Paris. The first accounting of the looting of his collection appears in a listing compiled in 1948 by the French military command in Berlin, the *Répertoire des biens spoliés*, under the heading for medieval manuscripts stolen from the Rothschilds.[23] Listed as item 343 is a "Livre d'heures du Duc de Berry, ms. sur vélin de la fin du XIVe s. richement décoré de miniatures en camaïeu. Idem [that is, Baron Maurice de Rothschild]." Before he left Paris, Maurice packed his most precious manuscripts in six sealed boxes and placed them in a Paris bank vault. In January 1941, Nazi officials of the *Devisenschutzkommando*, or Currency Control Unit, raided the bank and seized the boxes, but issued numbered receipts. Many of these manuscripts ended up in Neuschwanstein Castle, the fantastical castle of Ludwig II near Füssen in southern Bavaria, which the Nazis used as one of their main depots for looted art. In April 1945 the American Seventh Army entered Neuschwanstein and with it Second Lieutenant James J. Rorimer, a member of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives teams of the Civil Affairs Division, the curator of The Cloisters, and later director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.[24] Rorimer recalled in a book he wrote in 1950 about his experiences, *Survival: The Salvage and Protection of Art in War*, that behind steel doors he discovered two crates of works of art—jewels, manuscripts, and silver—from the Rothschild and David-Weill families. In 1954, Rorimer wrote to an assistant curator of The Cloisters who was then in Paris:

> When I was at the Castle of Neuschwanstein near Füssen, I found some Rothschild manuscripts in a wastepaper basket, where they were no doubt concealed in the hope that they might be overlooked. With tens of thousands of objects for which I was accountable but not responsible, my memory does not serve me well, except that I do believe that among the manuscripts I placed on the shelves in the library with the Rothschild catalogues and inventories, there were the following: 1. The *Petites Heures* of Jeanne d'Évreux by Jean Pucelle, 2. The *Belles Heures* of Jean, duc de Berry, by Pol Limbourg and his brothers, 3. the *Très Belles Heures* of Jean, duc de Berry, attributed to Hesdin and others. Will you kindly make a special effort at the Commission de Récupération Artistique, talking to my old friend Rose Valland if necessary, to discover the history of these manuscripts during the war years. Were they among the objects returned in some thirty-eight carloads directly from Füssen to the Jeu de Paume in 1946?[25]

Indeed, Rorimer was right to doubt his memory, for Ms. Valland shortly replied that the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* had been restituted to Maurice de Rothschild, but that neither the *"Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry"* nor the *"Petites Heures du Duc de Berry"*

Fig. 2. *Saint Louis before Damietta*, fol. 173

were found in Germany, the identity of the latter being obviously confused.[26] The *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* had been at Neuschwanstein, for it has penciled on the flyleaf the *Devizenschutzkommando* number 169 and the Neuschwanstein number R. 1052; it also appeared in the inventory drawn up by the Nazis at Neuschwanstein and now in the archives in Koblenz. The *Belles Heures* has neither of these identifying numbers, nor does it appear in the Rothschild file in Koblenz.

After the war, Maurice de Rothschild chose not to return to Paris, but to take up residence in the Château de Pregny on Lake Geneva in Switzerland, which had belonged to his great-uncle. The thirty-six restituted manuscripts were shipped there, and in 1952 Jean Porcher was asked to prepare a catalogue; each manuscript was given a number written in pencil within a circle: in the *Belles Heures* the number 7 is so inscribed on the lower inside cover.[27] Porcher was also asked to rank the manuscripts according to the value and artistic importance. The *Belles Heures* rose to number two on this list; the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* was number one.[28] The manuscripts soon emerged on the market; in 1954 the top two items were in New York with the firm of Rosenberg and Stiebel, which had close ties with the Rothschilds. Both manuscripts were offered to the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, which had to refuse because their funds had been committed to the acquisition of the Constance Missal.[29] The manuscripts were then offered to the Houghton Library at Harvard University and to a private collector in New York; both declined. Hans Stiebel then offered the manuscripts to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Metropolitan was heretofore not a buyer of major medieval manuscripts, largely by tacit understanding that these were the purview of the Morgan Library, a sister institution. The Metropolitan was released from that understanding, however, as the Morgan had declined both manuscripts. Even so, the acquisition of these manuscripts was exceptional, driven by their fame and art historical importance—they had both been recently published in Erwin Panofsky's monumental *Early Netherlandish Painting*[30]—and because the director James J. Rorimer believed that he had been instrumental in preserving the manuscripts, which brings us back to the question of what happened to the *Belles Heures* during the Nazi period.

Christopher de Hamel has pointed out that the putative description of the *Belles Heures* in the *Répertoire des biens spoliés* is so vague that the description could refer to at least three manuscripts in the collection of Maurice de Rothschild that all had belonged to Jean de Berry: the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*, the *Très Belles Heures*, or the *Belles Heures*. As the miniatures are described as "en camaïeu" (in monochrome or grisaille), he believes that it probably refers to the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* and not the *Belles Heures*. As there is no evidence that the *Belles Heures* was taken to Germany, it may well have been in safekeeping in Paris throughout the war, perhaps evading the Nazis by being kept under false pretenses in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[31] But clear evidence of its whereabouts between 1941 and its restitution to Maurice de Rothschild after the war has yet to emerge. Through the aforementioned series of serendipitous declinations, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was able in 1954 to acquire for The Cloisters at a price of $300,000 both the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* and the *Belles Heures* of Jean de France, duc de Berry, certainly one of the most fortuitous acquisitions of medieval art on record.

1. The manuscript comprises 224 folios (the foliation runs to 225, but folio 188 was omitted) in 31 quires with 94 full-page and 54 partial-page illuminations, plus 24 medallions in the Calendar pages for a total of 172. Each folio measures approximately 9⅜ × 6⅝ in. (23.8 × 17 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1).
2. When Herman and Jean were apprenticed to a Parisian goldsmith in 1400, they were described as "jonnes enfans" (young children). See Nijmegen 2005, p. 352, no. 92. Paul and Jean were probably about fifteen or sixteen, and fourteen years old, respectively, in 1402 when they were commissioned by Philip the Bold to work on the *Bible moralisée*. See Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 18.
3. Meiss 1974, pp. 103–4.
4. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 253, no. 960.
5. Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 65.
6. For a detailed study of all the surviving *Bibles moralisées*, see Lowden 2000.
7. Cazelles 1984, pp. 32–33.
8. It has been argued that many folios were left unfinished and that the intended borders simply were never added. However, the overall design on these pages, the expansive pictorial vision, and the literal and repeated subsuming of text into the composition strongly indicate that borders were not intended.
9. See Cazelles 1984, pp. 83–85. The fact that the subjects are unusual—or unprecedented—in a Book of Hours, and that they are single leaves rather than on folios, does not necessarily establish that these were not originally intended to be included in the manuscript, as both anomalies occur in the *Belles Heures*.
10. While the *Bible moralisée* comprises 384 illuminations executed by the Limbourg brothers, in scale and in compositional ambition they are no matches for those in the *Belles Heures*. Opinions diverge on the number of illuminations in the *Très Riches Heures* that were executed before 1416, but the consensus recognizes an intermediate artist thought to be Barthélemy d'Eyck, between the Limbourg brothers and Jean Colombe, who finished illuminating the manuscript in the later 1480s. Meiss asserts (1974, p. 66) that there were 129 illuminations, but a number of about 60 is more accurate, not taking into account those begun by the Limbourg brothers but finished by one of the later painters. See Cazelles 1984, pp. 93–100, and Stirnemann 2005, p. 113.
11. For a concise discussion of books of private devotion, see New York 2005, pp. 193–96.
12. Judith Oliver (2004, p. 259) writing about thirteenth-century Psalters, asserts that Psalters served as primers. Christopher de Hamel (1986, p. 164) notes that "it was from the Book of Hours that children were taught to read."
13. See Wieck in New York 1997, pp. 9–10.

14. The fact that they could be customized by the addition of ancillary texts, to say nothing of illustrations, made all Books of Hours different, but, in the sense that core texts and structure are constants so that the same words could be uttered at the same time of day, Books of Hours are very much alike, and intentionally so.
15. Wieck in New York 1997, p. 9. This volume and Wieck's *Time Sanctified* (Baltimore 1988) are the most comprehensive and engaging studies published in recent times about Books of Hours. It is on the authority of these volumes that the present text relies, along with Alexander, Marrow, and Sandler's *Splendor of the Word* (New York 2005), pp. 193–94, and Korteweg 2005.
16. Alternatively, the prayers to the Virgin can follow the Hours of the Virgin, and, likewise, the penitential psalms can follow the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit.
17. See "The Limbourg Brothers" in this volume.
18. See "The Limbourg Brothers" in this volume.
19. Pierre-Gabriel Bourlier was the son of Pierre-Philippe-Claude-Robert Bourlier (1794–1877), ennobled in 1820 with a hereditary barony bearing the name of his properties in the Forez (Loire) and who bequeathed a large collection of Roman coins to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Appel à chercheurs 2007–2008*, pp. 15–16, no. 20). Pierre-Gabriel must have been born about 1820–25; he was married in 1847 and had one son who predeceased him in 1893. See Chaix d'Est-Ange 1983, vol. 3, pp. 199–200. As he was the last to bear the name and title, he must have been in possession of the *Belles Heures* when Delisle rediscovered it in 1879. How or when the manuscript came into the possession of the Bourlier d'Ailly family is as yet unknown.
20. Delisle published a description of the manuscript in the following year. See Delisle 1880, pp. 283–93.
21. Delisle 1884, pp. 399–400.
22. De Hamel 2005, pp. 18–21.
23. The extraordinary account of the looting and eventual restitution of Maurice de Rothschild's manuscripts and the acquisition of both the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* and the *Belles Heures* by The Cloisters is related by William D. Wixom in Boehm, Quandt, and Wixom 2000, pp. 9–14, and in greater detail in De Hamel 2005, pp. 33–51.
24. Recently published books addressing the wartime looting of works of art by the Nazis include the following: Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa* (1994); Hector Feliciano, *The Lost Museum* (1995, 1997); and Robert M. Edsel, *Rescuing Da Vinci* (2006).
25. Letter of January 18, 1954, in the departmental files of The Cloisters.
26. The Valland letter is preserved in the archives of the Department of Medieval Art. As it later turned out, the *Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry* was sent to Berchtesgaden where Adolf Hitler and his top henchmen had built fortified houses in the mountains and where Hermann Göring private stash of stolen art was kept. An officer of the French First Army, which entered Berchtesgaden in May 1945, found a discarded book and kept it as a souvenir only to learn in 1956 that it was the *Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry*; it was taken to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and joyfully examined by Jean Porcher. The manuscript was returned to Baron de Rothschild, who promptly presented it to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
27. This seventeenth-century binding was removed in 1972 when the manuscript was rebound and remains in storage at The Cloisters.
28. De Hamel 2005, pp. 44–45.
29. Also known as the *Missale speciale*, printed by Johann Meister (?), Basel, about 1473. J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, PML 45545. See De Hamel 2005, p. 45.
30. Erwin Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953) was a seminal study influencing ensuing generations of students particularly in iconographic interpretation.
31. See De Hamel 2005, p. 53, ms. 18.

Jean de France, Duc de Berry

Jean de France, duc de Berry, was born in Vincennes, near Paris, on November 30, 1340, Saint Andrew's Day, the third of four sons of John II the Good (1319–1364; ruled as king 1350–64) and Bonne de Luxembourg (1315–1349).[1] His eldest brother ruled as Charles V (1338–1380; ruled as king 1364–80), the third in the succession of the house of Valois. His next eldest brother was Louis, duke of Anjou and count of Maine (1339–1384), and his younger brother was Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy and count of Nevers (1342–1404). After the death of Charles V, Jean de France served on the regency council (1380–88) of his young nephew, Charles VI (1368–1422; ruled as king 1380–1422). Married at age twenty to Jeanne d'Armagnac (d. 1388), and then to Jeanne de Boulogne (1378–1422), Jean de France, outliving all his brothers, died in Paris without a male heir on June 15, 1416.[2]

Copy of a lost portrait of Jean de France, duc de Berry, 17th century. Original thought to be by the Limbourg brothers. Drawing. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Gaignières Collection (Oa 13 Rés., fol. 15)

The Prince

Although our interest in Jean de France, duc de Berry, concerns his artistic patronage rather than his political and dynastic endeavors, his princely role in matters of state cannot be entirely unraveled from his private pursuits, as one inevitably impacted the other. At the core of the chaotic events during this period that swirled around the men who most influenced them were the conflicting interests of the Valois princes and kings, fueled by personal ambition and greed. Although not the most powerful of his princely siblings—the duke of Burgundy could claim that role—Jean de France, by virtue of station, dint of personality, and longevity, cast a considerable shadow across the political landscape. The Hundred Years' War, territorial hegemony, and dynastic ascendancy were the drumbeats of the duke's long life.[3]

Major battles of the Hundred Years' War—a series of wars between 1337 and 1453 over English claims to the French throne and various territories—bracketed the adult life of Jean de France, duc de Berry. In 1356 the army of Edward, the Black Prince (1330–1376), son of Edward III (1312–1377; ruled as king 1327–77), defeated the forces of John II the Good in the battle of Poitiers, and as a result, the Poitou, which had been under the control of Jean de France, was ceded to the English. In compensation for his territorial loss, Jean de France was made duke of Berry and Auvergne in 1360. In the same year he married Jeanne d'Armagnac, creating a familial tie that would later threaten the kingdom itself. In 1364, Jean de Berry's brother Charles V ascended the throne and subsequently charged the duke of Berry with guarding the western borders and keeping the English contained in the Poitou. Although his military ineptitude was quickly revealed, the duke nonetheless regained the Poitou in 1372. The confidence of Charles V, however, had been lost, and in 1374, he ordered that Jean de Berry not be appointed a guardian, should the Dauphin ascend the throne still in his minority.

With the death of Charles V in 1380, his twelve-year-old son became king as Charles VI. In spite of the order issued by Charles V, both the duke of Berry and Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, were named regents. In the same year Charles VI named Jean de Berry the royal lieutenant of territories south of the Dordogne. Meanwhile, the duke's oppressive taxation policies in the Languedoc led in 1381 to the uprisings known as the Tuchin revolts. Those towns not able to maintain order and revenue streams were penalized by heavier taxation. The situation worsened in 1389–90, requiring the king's direct intervention; mismanagement and rapacious taxation reduced the region to economic ruin, and one of the duke's principal officials, Bétizac, was tried and executed for his role in this debacle. Corrupt administration was as much to blame as the duke's avarice. By this time the duke had some measure of control over about one-third of the territories in France.

In 1392 Charles VI suffered the first incident of mental illness, now associated with the symptoms of schizophrenia, that afflicted

him for the rest of his life. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy again filled the void during the king's "absences," but they were soon challenged by their nephew, the king's brother, Louis, duke of Orléans (1372–1407). With the death of Philip the Bold, however, the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless (1371–1419), became embroiled in a lethal power struggle with his cousin Louis d'Orléans. Eventually the duke of Berry formed an alliance with the duke of Orléans and Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, who ran the court of her psychotic husband. Matters reached a crisis in 1407 when the duke of Burgundy had the duke of Orléans assassinated. Before the king, John the Fearless publicly justified his actions by claiming that the duke of Orléans was a threat to the Crown; Burgundy was sufficiently powerful that his arrogant stance went unchallenged. A tenuous truce between the ruling parties was reached in 1409, which Charles VI attempted to strengthen by offering the dukes of Berry and Burgundy joint guardianship of the Dauphin, Louis, duke of Guyenne (1397–1415); Berry declined, citing old age, and ceded the role entirely to Burgundy.

Attempts at reconciliation between Jean de Berry and his nephew the duke of Burgundy went awry, and by 1410 Jean de Berry had allied with Charles d'Orléans, to whom the duke was related by marriage. Berry and his allies raised an army, leading Charles VI to threaten war, which compelled the duke of Berry to declare loyalty to the king, his son, Louis, duke of Guyenne, and the duke of Burgundy. In the following year, however, the duke reversed his course again and supported Charles d'Orléans's cause to punish the duke of Burgundy for the murder of Charles's father. The Dauphin, who by decree of his father in 1410 now governed in his own right, declared Berry, in 1412, a rebel, and confiscated his territories. The duke responded by attempting to raise an army with the aid of Henry IV of England. This time the royal army laid siege to Bourges, the seat of the duchy of Berry. The duke capitulated and gave the keys of Bourges to the Dauphin—but only after emptying the treasury of his Sainte-Chapelle. The conflict was officially ended a month later, and in keeping with the custom of the Valois princes, the duke of Burgundy gave Jean de Berry a large ruby as a New Year's Day gift in 1413, confirming the blood bond of loyalty between them.

Misgovernment and oppressive taxation incited another series of popular uprisings in Paris. With the support of the duke of Burgundy, the insurgents, known as the Cabochiens, mingled negotiation with rioting, and by 1413 violence turned into anarchy. The duke of Berry's efforts to mediate and prevent the duke of Guyenne, the Dauphin, from bringing in the Armagnac forces to confront the Burgundians and their riotous allies failed. With the Burgundians forced from the city and the Armagnac faction in power, the duke of Berry was able to secure a truce only in the fall of that year, but it was not without personal cost: the Cabochiens had burned his château at Bicêtre on the outskirts of the city and then ransacked his Paris residence, the Hôtel de Nesle.

In 1413, Henry V (1386/7–1422) ascended the English throne intent on pressing claims to the French Crown. In the following year Burgundy formed an alliance with Henry V, which precipitated the siege of Arras by the army of Charles VI, resulting in the capitulation of the Burgundians, and John the Fearless assured Charles VI he had abrogated all treaties with enemies of the kingdom. At this point Henry V demanded that France be restored to the English Crown, and well aware of the English king's military prowess, Jean de Berry attempted to mollify him by ceding land in Guyenne, already occupied by the English. He simultaneously negotiated a marriage between Henry V and Catherine de France (1401–1437), daughter of Charles VI, along with a huge dowry of 600,000 *écus*. But the duke's efforts were of little avail. On October 25, 1415, Henry V delivered his crushing defeat of the vastly superior French forces at Agincourt. In April 1416, the duke of Berry, now seventy-six years old, met with Sigismund (1368–1437), king of Hungary, in Paris to discuss the terms of peace that Jean de Berry hoped to conclude with Henry V. It was a peace he never saw, for on May 25 the duke dictated his will and, falling ill on June 6, died nine days later.[4]

The Patron

Buildings

More than for his involvement with affairs of state and dynasty, Jean de Berry is known as one of the most magisterial patrons of the later Middle Ages. In his earlier years, the duke collected buildings, both secular and religious, and he is credited with building or renovating seventeen châteaux and other residences, including his palatial abodes with their attendant chapels in his principal seats:

Fig. 3. *Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges, Galerie du Cerf and Treasury*, French, second half of the 18th century. Oil on canvas, 33⅞ × 39⅜ in. (86 × 100 cm). Musée du Berry, Bourges (Inv. 1840.147.2)

Fig. 4. Étienne Martellange (French, 1568–1641). *Palace of Bourges and Sainte-Chapelle, Seen from the South*, ca. 1615. Drawing. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet d'Estampes (Ub 9 rea. fol. 46)

Bourges (Berry), Riom (Auvergne), and Poitiers (Poitou).[5] Little remains of the palace in Bourges, which comprised the main block flanked on the south end by a *logis* and, on the north, perpendicular to the axis of the palace, the Galerie du Cerf, which provided access to the library and treasury on one side and, eventually, the Sainte-Chapelle (a designation reserved for chapels that were to house a relic of Christ) on the other (fig. 3).[6] The chapel, construction of which began about 1391, incorporated archaizing elements to recall its Parisian precedent, which was built by Louis IX and dedicated in 1248. It is thought to have been in use by 1397 and completed by the end of 1398 (fig. 4).[7] Damaged by a fire in 1693, the Sainte-Chapelle was ordered demolished in 1757, and by the end of the nineteenth century hardly a trace of its structure remained.[8]

Prior to its destruction, what survived of the sculpture and stained-glass decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle was removed and transferred to the cathedral, although these elements cannot be definitively identified. Five statues of prophets and fragments of others almost certainly came from the Sainte-Chapelle, possibly the north flank. One of these (fig. 5) is attributed to André Beauneveu on the basis of its stylistic similarity to prophets he painted in the Psalter of Jean de Berry (see fig. 28), whereas another is given to Jean de Cambrai (fl. ca. 1375–d. 1438).[9] It is thought that a group of stained-glass panels representing standing apostles and prophets, now in the crypt of the cathedral, also came from the Sainte-Chapelle (fig. 6). Stylistically these figures, too, can be linked with the prophets in the Psalter of Jean de Berry, and thereby have been attributed to the workshop of Beauneveu.[10] Another panel representing the Pentecost is likewise thought to have come from the glazing of the Sainte-Chapelle.[11]

In 1403 Jean de Berry determined that the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges would be his final resting place. To this end it is likely, but not certain, that he hired Jean de Cambrai to create his tomb monument, which was closely modeled on the tomb of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, at the Champmol charterhouse in Dijon, made by Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter, and Claus de Werve between 1384 and 1410. At the duke's death the tomb remained unfinished, and

Fig. 5. Attributed to André Beauneveu (French, ca. 1335–1401/3). *Prophet*, ca. 1400. Limestone, 40½ × 15 × 8¼ in. (103 × 38 × 21 cm). Musée du Berry, Bourges (Inv. 1883.30.2)

Fig. 6. Design attributed to André Beauneveu (French, ca. 1335–1401/3). *Apostles*, ca. 1400. Stained glass. Bourges Cathedral, crypt (detail)

Fig. 7. Jean de Cambrai (South Netherlandish, fl. 1375/6–d. 1438) and successors. *Gisant of Jean de Berry*, first half of the 15th century. Marble. Bourges Cathedral, crypt

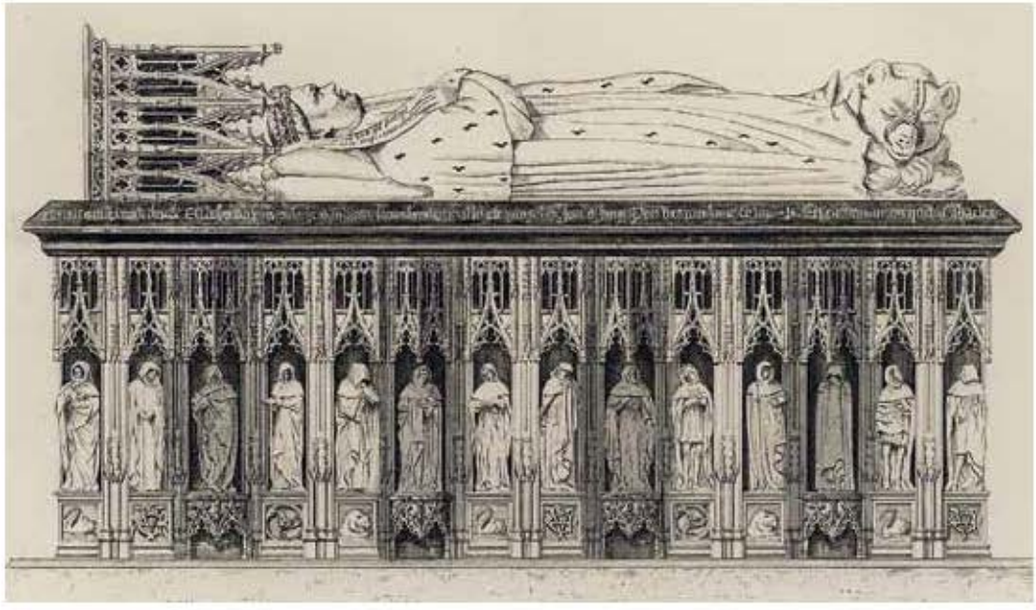


Fig. 8. Alfred de Champeaux (French, 1833–1903) after Paul Gauchery. *Reconstruction of Tomb of Jean de Berry*, in Champeaux and Gauchery 1894.

Fig. 9. Étienne Bobillet (Franco-Netherlandish, active in Bourges, 1453) and Paul de Musselman (Franco-Netherlandish, active in Bourges, 1453). *Mourners*, ca. 1453. French. Alabaster, left: H. 15⅛ in. (38.4 cm); right: H. 15¼ in. (38.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.386, 389)

only in 1449 did Charles VII pay to have the *gisant* finished by the successors of Jean de Cambrai, whereas the tomb itself with a series of mourning figures was finished in 1459 by Étienne Bobillet and Paul de Mosselman.[22] The tomb was also transferred to the cathedral in 1757, and only the *gisant* and the tomb slab have survived (fig. 7),[23] although Alfred de Champeaux's engraving after the reconstruction of Paul Gauchery conveys its appearance (fig. 8). In addition to the white marble *gisant* with the recumbent duke, head supported by pillows, arms crossed over his chest and a slumbering bear at his feet,[24] and the inscribed tomb slab in black marble, twenty-seven of the mourners are known. Most are in the Musée du Berry, Bourges, but others are widely dispersed, including two now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 9).[25] Additionally, a few fragments of the architectural elements of the tomb,

Fig. 10. Socle of a mourner, from the tomb of Jean de Berry, 1450–53. Alabaster, 5 × 4⅝ × 5¼ in. (12.6 × 11.6 × 13.5 cm). Musée du Berry, Bourges (Inv. 1840.253.2)

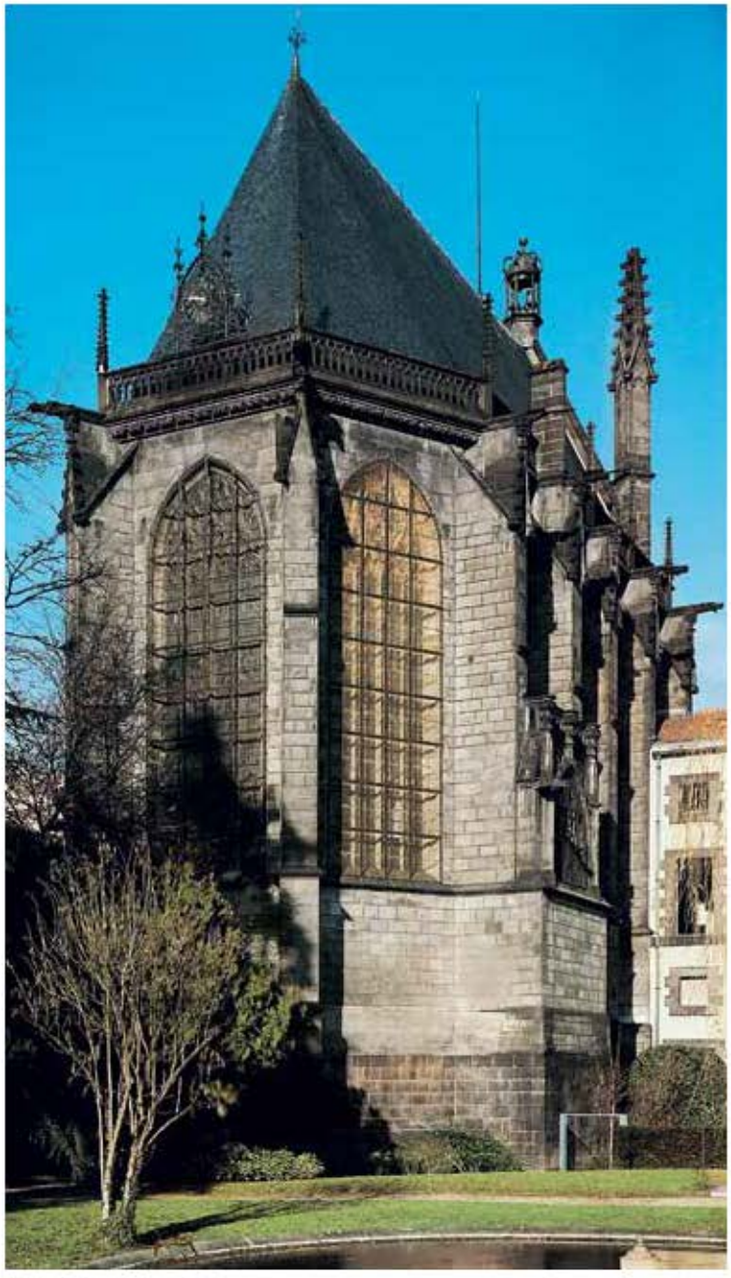


Fig. 11. Sainte-Chapelle of Riom, France, exterior. Begun 1395

including a socle of a mourner with one of the duke's devices, *EV* (*En Vous* [In You]), survive (fig. 10).[16] The supple and crisp carving of these pieces reflects the exceptional quality of this monument.

Nothing remains of Jean de Berry's palace at Riom, but Sainte-Chapelle survives there intact, save the central spire (fig. 11). Sainte-Chapelle was dedicated to the Holy Cross, Saint Louis, and Saint Thomas, and construction began in 1395.[17] Unusually, the structure was not oriented, and the portal end was conjoined to the great chamber of the lateral wing of the palace with the entrance portal in the northeast corner. Again, Paris served as the model. The Sainte-Chapelle at Riom was conceived with simplicity, elegance, and refinement, comprising a tall nave with

Fig. 12. Poitiers Palace, Tour de Maubergeon, showing exterior sculpture. Begun ca. 1384

three vaulted bays. Windows of four lancets entirely fill the space between the ribs, suffusing the interior with light. None of the original stained glass survives, and the present glazing dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, with considerable restorations of the nineteenth century.[18]

Only remnants of the ducal palace at Poitiers survive, along with part of the adjacent donjon, the Tour de Maubergeon, which was begun about 1384. A group of nineteen statues adorned the exterior above the level of the buttresses, and sixteen of these are still in place (fig. 12). As indicated by the arms above the empty socles, the missing statues included those depicting the duke and Jeanne de Boulogne. The others may have included ranking Poitevin nobility designed to commemorate the Peace of Loudun in 1372, which followed the reconquest of Poitiers from the English and recognized the sovereignty of the duke of Berry and of the Crown.[19] The château of Poitiers comprised three groupings of buildings arranged in an equilateral triangle with a tower at each corner and was situated where the rivers Clain and Boivre meet. Although completely demolished, its appearance is recorded in the *July* page of the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 13).

In 1380, Charles VI gave Jean de Berry the Hôtel de Nesle, which would prove to be his favorite residence in Paris and where he would eventually die.[20] One of the most luxurious residences in the capital, the Hôtel de Nesle was situated on the left bank of the Seine, across the river from the Louvre of Charles V, where the Institut de France now stands, bounded by the quai de Conti on one side and a ditch on the other side, more or less where the rue Mazarine is today. The walled property comprised the Grand Nesle, which had a long and massive arcaded gallery on the east end, and the Petit Nesle, which formed a triangle coming to a point near the westernmost reach of the property.[21] From the upper floors of the Petit Nesle one had a direct view of the Louvre across

Fig. 13. Limbourg brothers (Franco-Netherlandish, active in France by 1399–1416). *July*, showing the Château de Poitiers. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 7v, detail)

Fig. 14. Limbourg brothers. *June*, showing the royal Gardens, Palais de la Cité, and the Sainte-Chapelle. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 6v)

Fig. 15. Limbourg brothers. *The Temptation of Christ*, showing the Château at Melun-sur-Yèvre. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 161v, detail)

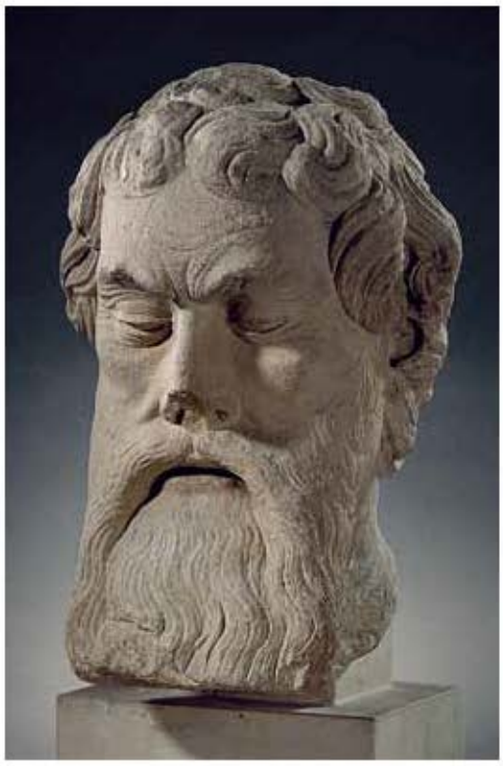


Fig. 16. Attributed to the workshop of André Beauneveu (French, ca. 1335–1401/3). South Lowlands. *Apostle Head*, end of the 14th century. From Mehun. Limestone, H. 12¼ in. (31 cm), W. 9 in. (23 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF 1979)

the river, and looking to the east, a view of the king's gardens, the Palais de la Cité, and the Sainte-Chapelle. It is this view that is depicted in the *June* page of the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 14). About 1386, Jean de Berry built an adjacent compound with a residence, gardens, and outbuildings, outside the city walls on the west side of the ditch. It was this adjunct compound that the Cabochiens looted in 1411.

The duke lavished attention on his many other properties, including the châteaux at Aubigny-sur-Nère, Concressault, Genouilly, Gien, Graçay, Nonette, and Usson, though little has survived. The château at Lusignan, which Drouet de Dammartin had been working on about 1400, is portrayed in the *March* page of the *Très Riches Heures*. In 1408, the duke built a pleasure house near his château outside of Bourges, and in the same year, he apparently installed Paul de Limbourg in the château of Bicêtre near Paris,[33] which the duke had refurbished in princely splendor, decorating the interior with tapestry hangings and an extensive series of portraits of popes, cardinals, emperors, kings, and princes.[34] The château was, however, virtually destroyed in the riots of 1411—after which Paul moved into the magnificent house the duke had provided in Bourges—and the duke never again restored the château.

Of all Jean de Berry's residences, the château at Mehun-sur-Yèvre (Cher) was his favorite. It became his principal seat outside of Paris, and his most important collections were housed there.[35] Court historian Jean Froissart, in his *Chroniques*, wrote that the duke chose to spend time at his château: " . . . one of the handsomest castles in the world; for the duke had spent upwards of 3000 francs in building and ornamenting it . . . he remained more than three weeks, planning new improvements with his master of the works, André Beauneveu, in sculpture and painting; for in such arts, [the duke] took great delight."[36] Surrounded by the Yèvres and Annain rivers with forests beyond, the château had soaring towers at the four corners, each capped with gilded-lead pinnacled roofs surmounted by metal banners painted with the arms of France. Under the direction of Guy de Dammartin, a new facade with an entry portal was added, along with a double-elevation chapel, and the towers were heightened, creating emphatic vertical lines, while atop the *grande salle* a statue of a knight was placed holding the duke's arms.[36] The château is depicted in *The Temptation of Christ* in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 15). As the duke's arms appear multiple times in the spires over the central facade, the miniature must have been completed while the Limbourg brothers were still working on the manuscript, probably before 1414 when the duke gave the château to his nephew the Dauphin, Louis, duke of Guyenne.[37] According to the duke's inventory of 1403, all but three volumes of his manuscript collection were housed at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, further establishing its favored status.[38] The structure was destroyed in the Revolution, and today only remnants of two towers survive. A single impressive head attributed to the workshop of Beauneveu attests to the quality of the sculpture that once graced the duke's magnificent château (fig. 16).

Princely Tastes

As he gained in years, the duke of Berry shifted his focus from building campaigns and associated decorative elaboration, to the amassing of all manner of movable items, ranging from the exotic to the sumptuous. Manuscripts, which the duke coveted like few others in his era, formed a relatively small part of his vast possessions. The duke's interests and tastes were varied, and he pursued them all with equal zeal and passion. He was an appreciator of music and had several organs rebuilt; he also introduced Flemish organ models into France. He commissioned numerous tapestries depicting ancient battles, hunts, religious themes, and allegorical subjects such as the Seven Deadly Sins. The *January* page in the *Très Riches Heures* depicts a hanging tapestry with a battle scene identified in the inscription as an episode from the Trojan wars (see fig. 31). A series representing the Nine Heroes, of which only five figures remain—Hector, Julius Caesar, Joshua, David, and Arthur—is now housed in The Cloisters (fig. 17). Although the series bears the arms of the duke, it does not correspond to any of those itemized in his inventories. Stylistically and technically they are close to the Angers Apocalypse series woven by Nicolas Bataille for the duke's brother Louis, duke of Anjou.[39]

The duke's interest in antiquity was manifested in his collection of antique cameos and carved gemstones, which were enjoyed not

Fig. 17. *Heroes Tapestry*. South Netherlandish, 1400–1410. Wool warp and wefts. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Munsey Fund, 1932 (32.130.36); Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1947 (47.101.1); Gift of George A. Douglass, 1947 (47.152)

only for the refinement of their carving and the classical subjects, but also for the magical powers that they were accorded, linking them to the stars and to the glory of God. Whereas numerous cameos are described, often cursorily, by Robinet d'Estampes, the duke's chamberlain, in the inventories, few can be identified today. Nine cameos now in the Louvre, however, are known to have come from the *croix aux camées* (cross with cameos), which belonged to the duke and was given after his death to the treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges.[30] A number of cameos removed from the reliquary bust of Saint Benoît, given by the duke to the Abbey of Saint-Denis in 1402 in exchange for relics of Saint Denis, were remounted in a crown and scepter made for the coronation of Napoleon I.[31]

Gemstones were likewise the object of the duke's acquisitive impulses, not only for their intrinsic worth but also for the spiritual value accorded them. The heavenly Jerusalem is described in the book of Revelation as being studded with gems, pearls, and semiprecious stones, and the limpid clarity of gems was thought to heighten spiritual awareness and was likened to the pure and immaterial celestial realm.[32] Indeed, the duke's insatiable desire for gems was legendary. Not even affairs of state would interfere with the duke's ceaseless quest. The contemporary Thomas de Saluces recounts in his *Le chevalier errant* (ca. 1404) that during a court session discussing the regency of Languedoc—an issue in which the duke had no small stake—Jean de France immediately excused himself when he learned that two Venetian merchants had arrived offering gems.[33] His greatest stone was a large spinel ruby (*balai*) set among five diamonds, for which he is said to have paid the colossal sum of 30,000 *écus*. He had fourteen other rubies deemed sufficiently prepossessing that they were given names such as *le roi des rubis* (the king of rubies).[34]

Jean de Berry may have been the first patron to commission medals as a sculptural art, thereby providing an impetus to the later work of Pisanello (by 1395–ca. 1455), who invented the personal commemorative medal.[35] In 1402 he acquired through a Florentine dealer in Paris a gold medal representing the Roman emperor Constantine (r. 306–337) mounted with gems, and a suspension chain that appears in Robinet's 1413 inventory.[36] The next entry

Fig. 18. *Medal of Heraclius* (obverse). French, 1400–1402. Cast bronze, 3⅞ × ⅝ in. (9.9 × 1.64 cm). Private collection, New York

describes another similar medal, this one representing Heraclius, emperor of the Eastern Empire (r. 610–41), which is followed by two further entries that describe gold copies of these two medals that the duke had ordered. None of these has survived, but several bronze medals representing Constantine and Heraclius that exist are generally thought to preserve the original compositions (figs. 18, 122).[37] The duke had a particular fascination for the four emperors who ruled at crucial moments in the history of Christianity: Augustus, who was alive at the birth of Christ; Tiberius, alive at the time of Christ's death; Constantine, who converted to Christianity; and Heraclius, who returned the True Cross to Jerusalem. Augustus and Heraclius both appear in the *Belles Heures* (fols. 26v and 156–156v, respectively; pp. 111, 189).

Like many noblemen, Jean de Berry had a great interest in animals, particularly dogs, both smaller domestic breeds and especially the hunting variety, such as stag hounds and mastiffs; in 1388 he was said to own fifteen hundred of them.[38] He also supported menageries with exotic creatures, including lions, bears—images of which served as one of his personal emblems—and swans, another favorite emblem (as many as fifty at a time), peacocks, an ostrich, monkey, camel, wolf, and leopard. He was accused of caring more for animals than for people, a characterization that his overtaxed and resentful subjects readily embraced. As oppressive and greedy as he could be, he was also extravagantly generous with his *varlets de chambre* and other subordinates in his court. As we shall see, Paul de Limbourg benefited handsomely from this ducal trait.[39]

The Joyaux

Of all the duke's treasures, none can rival the *joyaux* for sheer sumptuousness and conspicuous extravagance. The term, as used by Robinet in the duke's inventories, refers to any object of goldsmiths' work generally studded with gemstones and often decorated with the rare opaque enamels applied to three-dimensional surfaces (*émail-en-ronde-bosse*) and with *basse-taille* translucent enamels—red or *clair rouge* being a favorite. *Joyaux* also included vessels of cut and polished rock crystal or a variety of semiprecious hardstones mounted in gold and likewise enameled and studded with gems. No distinction appears to have been made between secular and ecclesiastical objects, as shrines or *tableaux*, reliquaries, crosses, serving vessels, jewelry, pendant gems, caskets or coffrets, chalices, cups, ewers, statuettes, indeed anything combining precious materials, fell under the rubric of *joyaux*. More than three hundred such objects appear in the 1416 inventory.[40] In a precapitalistic world, gold and gems were a means of accumulating wealth, as either could readily be exchanged for, or converted to, cash. Many of the *joyaux* that the duke had conveyed provisionally to the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges were, for example, reclaimed and melted down for coinage with which the Armagnac troops were paid during the Burgundian siege in 1411. For this reason, objects of pure gold were favored over those of silver gilt. Whereas precious stones were removed for reuse, the worked gold elements and the enamel with which these extraordinary objects were decorated were lost to the melting pots.

Indeed, whereas Jean de Berry's inventories abound with *joyaux*, only two such objects known to have belonged to him survive, and both, as it happens, are in the British Museum. One is the *Royal Gold Cup*, which is decorated with gracefully stippled gold surfaces

Fig. 19. *Royal Gold Cup*. French, ca. 1380. Gold, enamel and pearls. H. 9¼ in. (23.6 cm). The British Museum, London (1892.5-1.1)

Fig. 20. *Shrine of the Crown of Thorns or The Holy Thorn Reliquary of Jean, duc de Berry.* French, ca. 1400. Gold, *émail-en-ronde-bosse*, crystal, pearls, and jewels. H. 12 in. (30.5 cm). The British Museum, London (Waddesdon Bequest 67)

Fig. 21. *Saint Catherine of Alexandria.* French, 15th century. Gold, *émail-en-ronde-bosse*, gems, and pearls. Overall (without marble and wood base): 3⅞ × 2⅛ × 1⅛ in. (9.8 × 5.4 × 2.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.905)

and translucent *basse-taille* enamels, with an abundance of the rare and technically challenging *clair rouge*, representing scenes from the life of Saint Agnes, and executed with exceptional refinement and technical mastery (fig. 19). The cup, the stem of which was altered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may have been originally ordered by Jean de Berry as a gift for his older brother Charles V, who was born on the feast day of Saint Agnes. But the king's untimely death may have disrupted this plan, and the cup remained in the duke's possession until he gave it to his nephew Charles VI in 1391.[41]

The *Holy Thorn Reliquary* houses a spine from the Crown of Thorns placed on the head of Christ during the torments of his Passion (fig. 20).[42] Mounted in the central section, the sacred relic is integrated into a representation of the Last Judgment; this scene is surrounded by bust-length figures of the apostles and surmounted by God the Father adored by angels. The whole rises from a pedestal in the form of crenellated walls, with trumpeting angels in each corner turret, and souls rising from their graves within. The shrine is liberally studded with gemstones and pearls. The enamel armorial plaques mounted on the sides of the pedestal indicate that it was a commission by Jean de Berry.

As the duke's life progressed, his most treasured possessions were his *joyaux* and his manuscripts; the former were of considerable, and the latter of little, intrinsic worth, and, consequently, few *joyaux* have survived, while an impressive number of his manuscripts have come down to us.

The Inventories

A detailed knowledge of the duke of Berry's collecting habits is conveyed by the three surviving inventories of his holdings.[43] The first of these was begun by Guillaume de Ruilly, *garde des joyaux*, at the château of Dourdan on December 2, 1401, and was completed by Robinet d'Estampes on February 23, 1403. It contains 1,317 items along with additional notes concerning the duke's gifts to the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges.[44] The second was that of Robinet, which was begun on February 1, 1412, and completed on January 31, 1413, comprising items 1 through 1,099, along with a second part with items 1,100 through 1,251, acquired between February 1, 1413, and the duke's death in 1416.[45] This inventory, called the "Fourth Account" and "Fifth Account" by Robinet, but generally referred

Fig. 22. *Goldenes Rössl*. French, 1404. Gold, silver gilt, enamel, rubies, sapphires, and pearls. H. 24⅜ in. (62 cm). Schatzkammer der Heiligen Kapelle, Altötting

to as the 1413 inventory, is the more revealing, as it lists items by categories in order of accession, often giving considerable detail of each item and its manner of acquisition (i.e., gift or purchase). The third was compiled by Jean Lebourne in 1416 after the duke's death; this inventory adds little of substance to the previous inventory, but is important for its listing of the tapestries, which, because they were not the responsibility of the *garde des joyaux*, do not appear in the other inventories.[46]

The Étrennes

A large number of the items in the inventories came to the duke as gifts, mostly through the Valois custom of exchanging gifts, known as *étrennes*, on New Year's Day.[47] Something of a revival of the Roman practice—*étrenne* derived from the Latin *strena*, meaning both the gift and the act of exchange—the custom became institutionalized among the nobility during the reign of Charles VI. It served to establish rank, loyalty, alliance, and a

measure of enforced civility at a time marked by warfare, social unrest, a power vacuum owing to the king's deficient mental capacities, and by the murderous tendencies of competing members of the house of Valois. Prodigality characterized the *étrennes* dispensed by many of the Valois princes. The king's brother Louis d'Orléans, for example, spent in three years the enormous sum of 19,000 *livres* on *étrennes*. The only *étrenne* to survive other than manuscripts—and by no means uncharacteristic of the conspicuous extravagance displayed by the Valois—is the so-called *Goldenes Rössl* (little golden horse)—a gold, silver gilt, gem-encrusted, and enameled tabernacle shrine with Charles VI presenting himself to the Virgin and Christ Child seated in a rose bower—given to Charles VI by his wife, Isabeau of Bavaria, on New Year's Day 1405 (fig. 22). Incorporating eight rubies, six sapphires, and sixty-nine pearls, this dazzling ensemble is over twenty-four inches high, and weighs more than twenty-six pounds.[48]

Jean de Berry, on the other hand, seemed to have used the custom to his advantage, enhancing rather than depleting his wealth. Based on the three inventories, Jean purchased or commissioned 119 precious objects, whereas he received 358 by gift, of which more than half were *étrennes*, and, on the other side of the ledger, he dispensed only 231 gifts, resulting in a considerable net gain.[49] In 1400, Jean de Berry was reminded in a letter from his brother Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, that he had not yet received his *étrenne*, noting that he wished an image of Saint James the Greater, a request with which Jean de Berry complied.[50] A fragmentary gold and *émail-en-ronde-bosse* figure of Saint Catherine might well have served as a similar gift (fig. 21). Of the gifts received by the duke, 177 were *joyaux* and 80 were manuscripts.[51] The duke also exchanged *étrennes* with the Limbourg brothers: the duke gave Paul de Limbourg a gold ring with an emerald in the shape of a bear, one of the duke's devices, in 1408; a diamond ring in 1412 and another in 1413; and an unspecified number of diamonds to Herman, Paul, and Jean in 1414 or 1415. In 1411 the three Limbourg brothers gave the duke a false book carved from wood and heavily decorated. Of greater monetary value was an agate-and-gold saltcellar studded with gems and pearls that Paul gave the duke in 1415.[52]

The Treasury of Sainte-Chapelle

The inventory of the treasury of the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges conveys in the most salient terms the vast wealth commanded by Jean de France, and his willingness to expend it in the service of the Church and the aggrandizement of his person.[53] Between 1404 and 1407 the duke lavished more than three hundred precious objects upon the treasury. Until 1412, when large amounts of the metalwork were melted down to pay the duke's troops,[54] Jean de Berry endowed his chapel with a greater wealth than Louis IX, the sainted king (r. 1226–70), bestowed on his Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.[55] Among the objects donated were thirteen crosses of gold, silver, crystal or jasper studded with gemstones, enamels, and cameos; six head reliquaries; thirty gold or silver-gilt statues (*ymages*) of saints, angels, apostles, and bishops; seven tabernacles or monstrances; and portable altars, liturgical vessels, boxes, bells, paxes, censers, candelabra, and basins. A grand cross of gold on a silver-gilt base incorporating a fragment of the True Cross and with a gold figure of Christ, was encrusted with dozens of large balas rubies, sapphires, diamonds, emeralds, and hundreds of pearls. A gold head reliquary of John the Baptist was mounted on a jasper plate with gold mounts, to which were attached four large balas rubies, eight sapphires, four emeralds, and sixteen groupings of pearls. A tabernacle or shrine of silver gilt represented the Last Judgment with the Virgin and John the Evangelist as intercessors, incorporating a reliquary, and supported by a gilt base borne by six angels. A head reliquary of Saint James in silver gilt was embellished with the enameled arms of the duke, along with a large antique cameo, four balas rubies, five large pearls, sixteen small balas rubies, three sapphires, fifteen emeralds, and thirty-four groupings of pearls. Another cross bore the figure of Christ in white opaque enamel over gold, flanked by enameled sculptures of the Virgin and Saint John, and was mounted with thirty balas rubies, eighteen sapphires, fifty-seven diamonds of varying shape, and 210 pearls. Additionally, the duke supplied the Sainte-Chapelle and his oratory with vestments, frontals, and other textiles imported from Italy and the Near East, numbering 153 items.[56] The Sainte-Chapelle was likewise furnished with a large number of manuscripts; some sixty-three were recorded in 1404 and 1405, although a number of these appear in the 1416 inventory of the duke's possessions, indicating that these were never actually given. The duke's Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges served as a reliquary for the precious relics of Christ and numerous saints and also was conceived to house the mortal remains of the duke himself. As a goldsmith would elaborate his miniature structures with enamels and gemstones, so the duke, on his grand scale, endowed his structure with all manner of superb decoration and furnishings.

The Manuscripts

The library of Jean de France, duc de Berry, must be measured more by quality than quantity. He owned about three hundred manuscripts, considerably more than did his brother Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who owned only two hundred, but nowhere close to the nearly one thousand manuscripts that his brother Charles V owned. But Charles, it seems, was an avid reader and cared more for texts than illuminations. His son and successor, Charles VI, added relatively little to the royal library and, apparently, allowed security to slip; Jean de Berry was not alone in borrowing books that he failed to return. The duke of Berry's library, based on the inventories, contained the expected religious texts, including fourteen Bibles, sixteen Psalters, eighteen breviaries, fifteen Books of Hours, six missals, three prayer books, three evangeliaries, a lectionary, a pontifical, and nearly

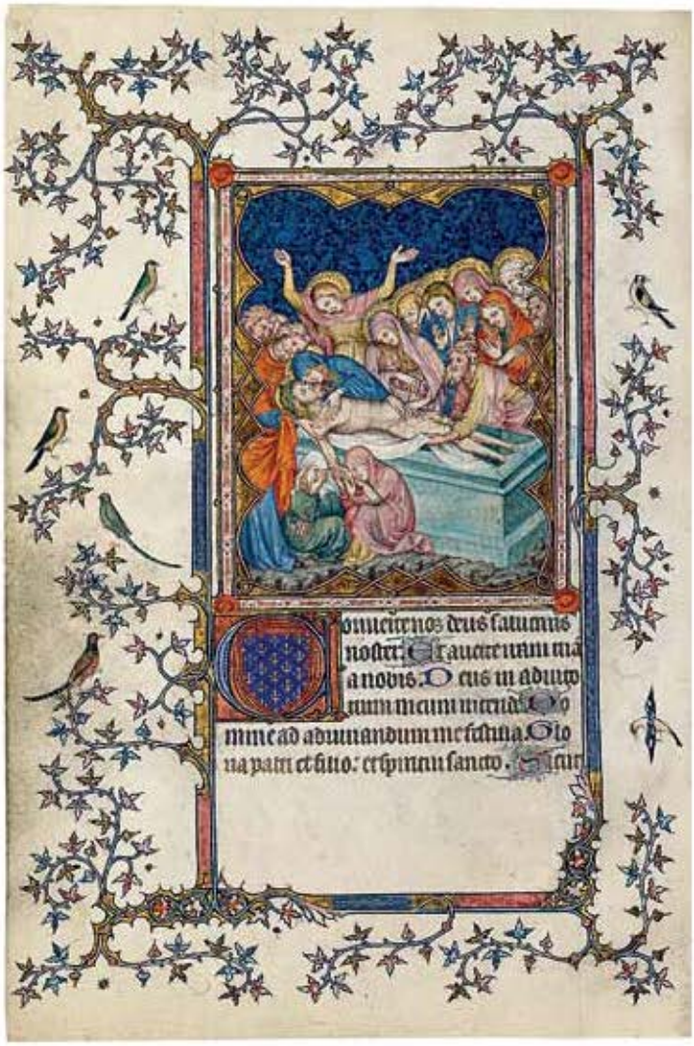


Fig. 23. Jean Le Noir (French, fl. 1331–75). *Entombment of Christ. Petites Heures*, begun 1375–80. Ink and tempera on parchment, 8½ × 5¾ in. (21.5 × 14.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. lat. 18014, fol. 94v)

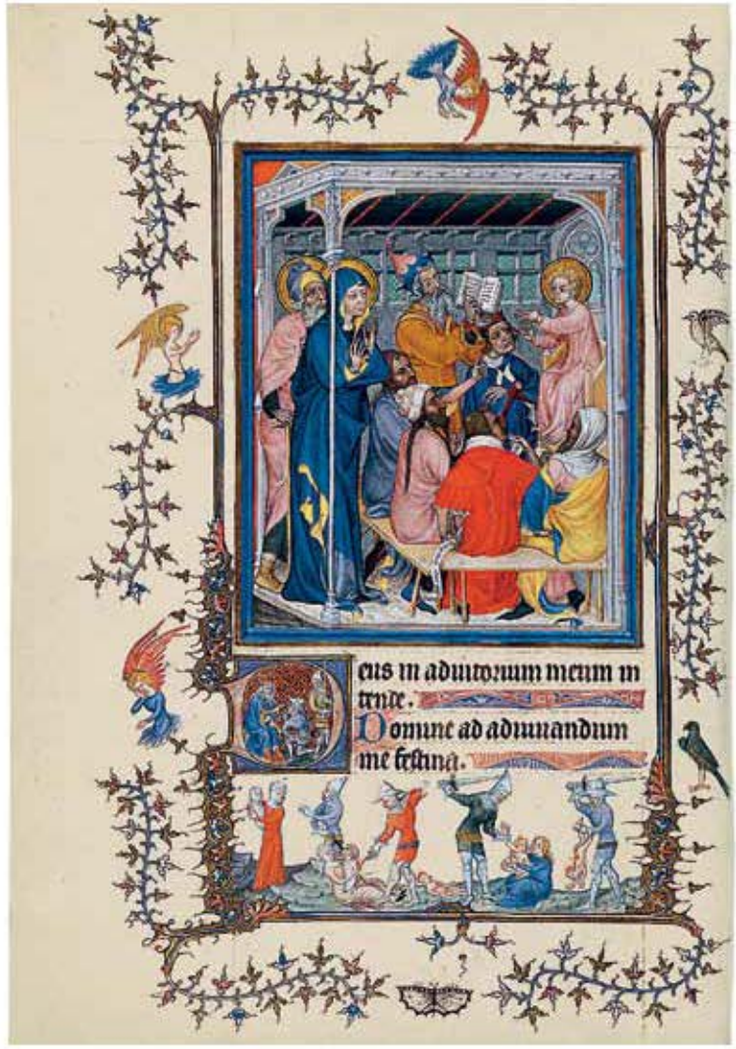


Fig. 24. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, Jean d'Orléans, and Workshop (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Christ among the Doctors. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, begun by ca. 1390. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11½ × 8⅛ in. (29 × 20.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 62)

forty other devotional volumes. He had numerous volumes of the Roman writers, including Pliny and Suetonius, as well as French translations of Ovid, Livy, Virgil, Aristotle, and Terence.[57] Boccaccio and Christine de Pisan were prominently represented, and Jean de Berry supported translations of Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and of *Meditationes vitae Christi*.[58] Works of Priscian, Vincent of Beauvais, Augustine of Hippo, Guillaume de Machaut, Durand de Champagne, and Boethius are all represented. The library also included thirty-eight chivalric romances—the more familiar being *Roman de la rose* and *Lancelot du Lac*—astrological texts, forty-one volumes of chronicles and other histories, moralities, travel accounts, and Judaica. There were twenty-four volumes pertaining to the arts and sciences, and fifteen on philosophy and politics. As Jules Guiffrey summed it up in his *Inventaires*, Jean de Berry's library "présentait comme une encyclopédie résumée des connaissances de son temps" (presents like an encyclopedia summarizing the knowledge of his time).[59]

Although his bibliophilic interests only emerged in middle age—he was about forty when he commissioned his first manuscript—the duke took an immediate and personal interest in all his manuscripts, and he inscribed his name in many of them. He was relentless in pursuing the finest examples of contemporary production as well as of older manuscripts. Some came to him by bequest, while others were doggedly pursued after the death of their owner. After the assassination of his nephew Louis d'Orléans in 1407, for example, the duke recovered from his estate three manuscripts that he had given some years before.[60] He notoriously failed to return borrowed books of which he was inordinately fond, and several volumes found their way back to their rightful owners only after the duke's death. He, of course, received numerous

Fig. 25. Jacquemart de Hesdin and Workshop. *Lamentation. Grandes Heures.* French (Paris), ca. 1407–9. Ink and tempera on parchment, 15¾ × 11⅞ in. (40 × 30 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. lat. 919, fol. 77)

volumes by gift or *étrenne*, many, no doubt solicited, while giving relatively fewer away. But in keeping with princely largesse, those he gave away could be of extremely high quality. The *Très Belles Heures of Jean de Berry* (*Brussels Hours*), for example, is thought to have been given to the duke's brother Philip the Bold shortly after 1402.[61] The duke also acquired manuscripts through dealers; a number of manuscripts, including his copy of *Lancelot du Lac*, were bought from the Paris book dealer/agent (*libraire*) Regnault du Montet. Additionally, he purchased from private individuals, including his own secretary Jean Flamel. The duke also possessed highly prized books of the earlier fourteenth century; a notable example is the tiny but exquisitely painted *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*, executed by Jean Pucelle before 1328 and now in The Cloisters (fig. 27).

Jean de Berry valued his devotional books above all, and of these, Psalters, breviaries, and Books of Hours were the most important. As discussed above, by 1400 the Book of Hours became the most popular type of book of private devotion largely because its flexible structure allowed it to be customized according to the taste and interests of the owner. Jean de Berry commissioned

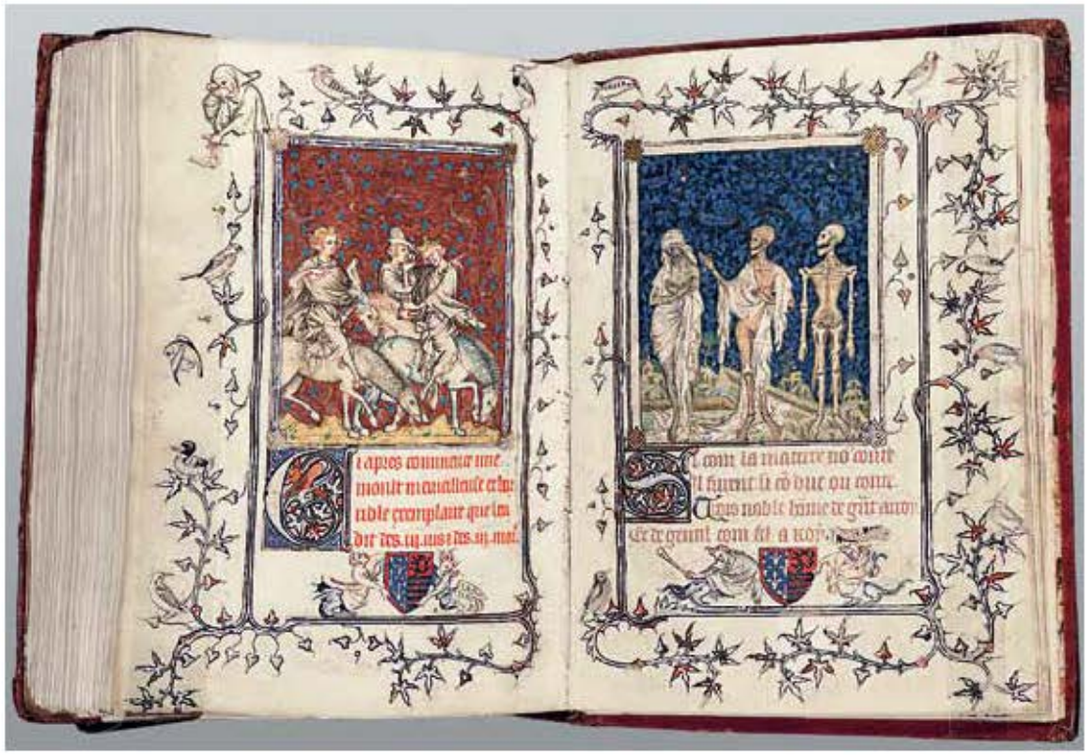


Fig. 26. Jean Le Noir (French, fl. 1331–75) and Workshop. *Psalter and Hours of Bonne of Luxembourg*, French (Paris), before 1349. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, overall (closed): 5⅛ × 3¾ × 1⅝ in. (13.2 × 9.7 × 4.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.86, fols. 321v–322)

six Books of Hours between 1375 and 1416.[62] The first of these was the *Petites Heures*, which was begun between 1375 and 1380, but work was interrupted and the manuscript was completed only between 1385 and 1390. The illuminations were executed by Jean Le Noir (see fig. 23), Jacquemart de Hesdin, and associated workshops, with a further text and a single illumination, the *Duke of Berry Setting Off on a Trip*, by the Limbourg brothers, added about 1412 (see fig. 49).[63] By the early 1390s, work began on the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, with the principal illuminations by the Master of the Parement de Narbonne (fig. 24). As will be discussed below, this manuscript was ordered split by the duke about 1405; at this time or shortly after, the Limbourg brothers contributed three additional illuminations (figs. 40, 41, and 45). The two other sections eventually arrived in Milan and Turin, where one was destroyed by fire in 1904. The other surviving section, a missal, is now in Turin, and is known as the *Turin-Milan Hours*.[64] Late in the 1390s, the duke commissioned a different *Très Belles Heures*, also known as the *Brussels Hours*, with the famed diptych of the kneeling duke presented by his patron saints, Andrew and John the Baptist, to the enthroned Virgin and Child (fig. 29). The manuscript must have been finished by 1402, as it appears in the inventory of that year. By 1405 work on the *Belles Heures* had commenced and was completed by late 1408 or early 1409. Production on the *Grandes Heures* (fig. 25), so called because of the outsize pages measuring 15¾ × 11⅞ inches each, began about 1407. Painted by Jacquemart de Hesdin and his workshop, the manuscript was completed at some point after the *Belles Heures* in 1409. And finally, the *Très Riches Heures* was begun probably in

Fig. 27. Jean Pucelle (French, active in Paris, ca. 1320–34). The *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*, before 1328. Grisaille and tempera on vellum, 3½ × 2⅜ in. (8.9 × 6.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2, fols. 154v–155)

1411 or 1412 (see fig. 14), and left incomplete with the death of the Limbourg brothers and the duke himself in 1416.

All of the Books of Hours commissioned by Jean de Berry include the Hours of the Virgin, the seven penitential psalms, and the Office of the Dead—as was the case with most French Books of Hours at the time. Otherwise, the texts vary considerably, mostly in the choice of prayers. Although there are significant differences, the texts of the *Belles Heures* and the *Très Riches Heures* correspond more closely to each other than to any

other. Only these manuscripts include, for example, readings from the Gospels and the two prayers to the Virgin, *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*.[65] In keeping with royal convention, the duke's Books of Hours were for Paris usage rather than for that of any of his regional seats. Interestingly, one of the most complex of the Books of Hours was the first the duke commissioned, the *Petites Heures*. During the hiatus in the production of that manuscript, the duke decided to create an even more expanded Book of Hours, the *Très Belles Heures de Nôtre-Dame*, using all the texts he had included in the *Petites Heures* and adding a missal.[66] But, as mentioned above, this ambitious project was ended in 1405 with the division of the yet-unfinished manuscript. In his final three commissions the duke chose more simplified textual arrangements, allowing, indeed encouraging, the Limbourg brothers in the final two commissions to greatly expand the pictorial range, and, in these two manuscripts, the visual would seem to have transcended the spiritual function of these devotional texts. Indeed, in some page layouts, the illuminations displace the text (see fig. 123).

The Valois princes were very much aware of each other's holdings, and in something of an interfamilial rivalry, the prized possessions of one relative often fueled the desires of another. The magisterial *Bible moralisée* of John II the Good, for example, with its more than five thousand illuminations, inspired his son Philip the Bold to commission a near replica, even though the style was outdated.[67] The queen of John II the Good and the mother of Charles V and his brothers owned a Book of Hours, illuminated in grisaille by Jean Le Noir that bears her name—Bonne de Luxembourg—and is now in The Cloisters Collection (fig. 26). Perhaps it was this book that introduced Jean de Berry to grisaille painting and Italianized miniature painting, for he came to particularly admire the work of Jean Pucelle, the father-in-law of Jean Le Noir, and in 1401 the duke had acquired Pucelle's masterpiece, the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (see fig. 27). Jeanne d'Évreux bequeathed the book to Charles V, and it is uncertain if the manuscript was actually presented to Jean de Berry or whether he appropriated it from his youthful nephew, Charles VI, who presumably inherited it from his father.[68] As noted earlier, The Cloisters acquired this exceptional manuscript at the same time as the *Belles Heures*.[69] The duke's apparent love of grisaille painting may have inspired the figures of prophets and apostles meticulously rendered in soft grays tinged with pale rose and blue found in the duke's Psalter, attributed to André Beauneveu (fig. 28).[70]

Bibliophilic rivalry often dictated the style, format, and content of the manuscripts ordered by the Valois princes. About the time the duke commissioned the *Petites Heures*, his older brother Charles V acquired one of the grandest Books of Hours of the period, the *Savoy Hours* of about 1335–40, which had been commissioned by Blanche of Burgundy, countess of Savoy (d. 1348). After Charles acquired the manuscript he aggrandized it with additional texts, many miniatures painted by the Master of the Bible of John de Sy,

Fig. 28. Attributed to André Beauneveu (French, ca. 1335–1401/3). *Saint Matthew*, Psalter of Jean de Berry, ca. 1386. Ink and tempera on parchment, 9⅞ × 7 in. (25 × 17.7 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 13091, fol. 30)

a sumptuous cover with jeweled clasps, and a bookmark. A careful analysis of the two Books of Hours demonstrates that Jean de France modeled the *Petites Heures* on the *Savoy Hours* with its extensive text and pictorial program, a manuscript that clearly aroused his competitive spirit and, no doubt, envy.[71]

Representations of Jean de Berry

Leaving aside effigies on his seals, scores of portraits of the duke of Berry have come down to us, a remarkable number even for a man of his princely rank and time.[72] One of these is a marble tomb effigy, another a much-mutilated and restored sculpture of the duke in prayer, a drawing by Holbein after this sculpture, and the rest, not surprisingly, are in manuscripts. Others, known to us through the inventories, but sadly lost, include three rings with his image

Fig. 29. Diptych of the *Duke Presented to the Virgin by Saints. Très Belles Heures of Jean de France (Brussels Hours)*. French, begun late 1390s. Ink and tempera on parchment, 10⅞ × 7¼ in. (27.5 × 18.5 cm). Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels (Ms. 11060–11061, pp. 10–11)

in gold or cameo[72] and a gold medal with the likeness of the duke on one side and the Virgin and Child with four angels on the other.[74] Additionally, a seventeenth-century drawing preserves the composition of a lost portrait on panel thought to be by the Limbourg brothers (see illustration, p. 11).[73] Most, but certainly not all, conform to medieval convention and are either funerary or devotional, representing the duke in prayer. Others, more tellingly, represent the duke in his princely or secular roles—most famously, at table surrounded by courtiers in the *January* page of the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 31). Later in his life, perhaps in reaction to the murder of his nephew Louis, duke of Orléans, in 1407, the duke of Berry added images of himself and his retinue either arriving at or departing a château, accompanying a prayer beseeching "a prosperous path and calm weather, so that we might be worthy to arrive at the place we are going."[75] In times of political uncertainty and the violent outbreaks between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, the duke had reason to be more concerned with his safety during his travels. The image appears both at the end of the *Petites Heures* (see fig. 49) and the *Belles Heures* (fol. 223v, p. 262), and was added to the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, but the illumination is now lost.[77]

Most of the "portraits" of the duke, particularly those dating prior to 1400, represent the duke generally, rather than depict him

Fig. 30. Hans Holbein the Younger (German, 1497/98–1543). *Portrait of Jean de France, Duc de Berry*, 1523/24. Crayon (black and colored) drawing after sculpture in Bourges, 15⅝ × 10⅞ in. (39.6 × 27.5 cm). Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel (Inv. 1662.125, Amerbach-Kabinett, Müller 1996, Nr. 151)

Fig. 31. Limbourg brothers. *January*. *Très Riches Heures*, 1412/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum. Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 1v)

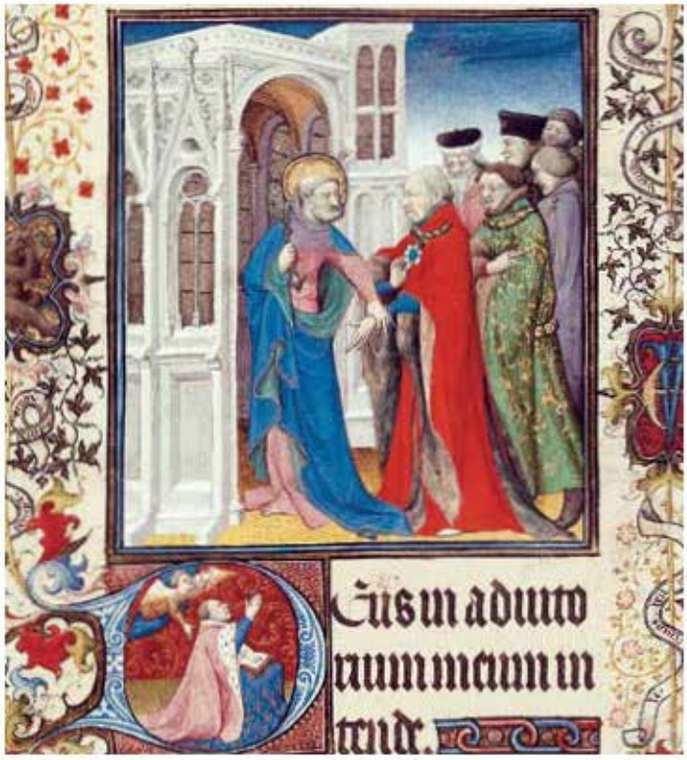


Fig. 32. Jacquemart de Hesdin and Workshop. *Saint Peter Welcomes Duc de Berry at the Gates of Heaven. Grandes Heures*, 1407–9. Paris. Ink and tempera on parchment, 15¾ × 11⅞ in. (40 × 30 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. lat. 919, fol. 96, detail)

Fig. 33. Mazarine Master. *Salmon Presents His Manuscript to Charles VI. Dialogues* of Pierre Salmon, 1409. Paris. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7⅞ in. (28 × 20 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 23279, fol. 53, detail)

directly. Certainly some painters had no accurate model before them or, even if they had firsthand knowledge of the duke's countenance, may have intended to record his person rather than his appearance. This could have been a matter of convention, the inclination of the artist, or the wishes of the duke himself. Even in the *Belles Heures* the two representations of the duke—one showing him in prayer (fol. 91, p. 149) and the other in the *Itinerary*— are not representations of a man approaching his seventies. The first portrait of the duke that convincingly represents a middle-aged man of distinct features is that in the facing pages at the beginning of the *Très Belles Heures of Jean de France* (*Brussels Hours*), which depicts, on the verso, the kneeling duke being presented by his patrons, Saints Andrew and John the Baptist, to, on the recto, the enthroned Virgin and Child (see fig. 29). Dating somewhat before 1402 and of uncertain authorship—the names André Beauneveu, Jacquemart de Hesdin, and Jean d'Orléans have been proposed[76]—the masterful portrait of the duke in profile and in subtle cameo-like tones, depicts a balding man with a rounded face, a stubby nose, and small piercing eyes. These features reappear in a more corpulent form in a sculpture of the duke in prayer, along with one of his wife Jeanne de Boulogne flanking the Notre-Dame-la-Blanche. These figures were damaged and restored, leaving little of their medieval appearance, but the mutilated head of the duke survives[77] and the original appearance is recorded in a drawing by Hans Holbein the Younger (fig. 30).[78] The tomb effigy of Jean de Berry, which was begun by Jean de Cambrai, probably in the duke's lifetime,[81] records the same identifying features, though his demeanor here is more of serenity. The image of the duke in the *January* page of the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 31) is startling for the sternness of the duke's expression. Dressed in a blue, fur-trimmed *houppelande* richly embroidered in gold, a gold collar around his neck, and a fur cap on his head, Jean de France is surrounded by all those things apparently so dear to him: *joyaux*, gold plate, tapestry hangings, luxury textiles, lapdogs, a table laden with fine food, and, by one reading, handsome young men.[82] The cleric, head bowed deferentially, appears to address the duke, whose bold profile is set off by the halolike fire screen behind, and the two elegantly dressed courtiers near the cleric who are commanded by the chamberlain to "aproche, aproche" are seemingly reluctant to do so. The young men in the foreground, apparently accustomed to the scene, continue in their service unperturbed.

Ironically, it may be the portraits that depict not the duke's appearance, but rather his actions, that convey the most about his character. The illumination for the Office of the Holy Spirit in the *Grandes Heures* represents the white-haired duke with an entourage, being welcomed at the Gates of Heaven (fig. 32). Saint Peter, holding the keys in one hand, clasps the duke's left wrist in the other, urging him forward. The duke curiously fondles with his free hand the enormous jewel—a sapphire surrounded by pearls—suspended from a gold collar around his neck. As the duke was elderly when this manuscript was completed in 1409, the

scene presages rather than records the event. This reading is reinforced by the initial below, which depicts a figure, apparently the duke, with hands clasped in fervent prayer while contemplating this vision of his heavenly reception. When the event shall occur, his brother Philip the Bold, who died in 1404, will apparently be among those to welcome him, as he is recognizable from early copies of a lost portrait as the man in profile wearing a high black hat with a jewel attached to the front.[83] The meaning of the duke of Berry's highly unorthodox gesture is enigmatic. Is he demonstrating that his beloved jewels were not mere worldly diversions, but have also afforded him spiritual elevation—pearls were associated with Christ and the blue clarity of sapphires with the celestial realm—justifying the represented event? Whatever the prominent jewel signifies, the miniature would also seem to offer the duke—no doubt to his considerable gratification—"the promise of eternal connoisseurship in heaven."[84]

The duke's actions are more easily decoded in an illumination by the Mazarine Master in the 1409 *Dialogues* of Pierre Salmon, secretary and confidant of Charles VI (fig. 33).[85] In a cutaway view, we see into a royal chamber with Charles VI, crowned and in state robes, sitting on a canopied dais accepting a copy of the *Dialogues* from the author Salmon, who kneels before his sovereign. A small group of courtiers is in attendance to witness the scene. One of them, however, is immediately recognizable by his black robe, fur-lined and embroidered all over with golden swans, as the duke of Berry. With an astonishing lack of deference, he turns his back to the king and scrutinizes a pendant jewel hanging from a chain around the neck of a gentleman, fingering it with one hand while holding up his other in admiration. Salmon, in fact, knew the duke very well and even acted as an agent for him during his 1408 travels in Italy.[86] Apparently, this behavior was so characteristic of the duke and such was his rank that Jean de France could be depicted in this unprecedented manner displaying brazen inattentiveness to the king and conspicuously disregarding formal protocol. The scene reinforces Thomas de Saluces's observation in his *Chevalier errant* that the duke of Berry's passion for his buildings and precious objects took precedence over the affairs of state.[87] And his oppressively taxed subjects may well have been correct in thinking that the duke placed his love of manuscripts, *joyaux*, palaces, menageries, and gemstones above their own well-being. Six hundred years later the man is obscured by history, but the two manuscripts that he commissioned from the Limbourg brothers—the *Belles Heures* and the *Très Riches Heures*—alone assure the reputation of Jean de Berry as one of the greatest of all patrons of art.

1. See "Family Members of Jean de France, Duc de Berry" in this volume.
2. Jean de Berry had four children by his first wife, Jeanne d'Armagnac: Bonne (1367–1435); Charles (1371–ca. 1382); Marie (1375/6–1434); and Jean (ca. 1376?–1397). The duke had no children by his second wife, Jeanne de Boulogne.
3. For a more detailed historical account, *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 7 (Bury 1958), is a good starting place. For an exhaustive biography of Jean de Berry comprising four volumes, see Lehoux 1966–68. Famiglietti 1986 and Autrand 2000 are both informative, the former painting a darker picture of the duke and the latter giving a more benign reading. I am grateful to Elizabeth A. Monti for compiling and condensing much of this historical material.
4. For a chronology of events in France from 1328 to 1422, see Meiss 1967, pp. 345–48. The chronology is followed by a brief account of the duke's children and by a genealogical table of the duke's immediate family and related branches.
5. Champeaux and Gauchery (1894) discuss most of the duke's buildings, illustrating them with reconstruction drawings, many somewhat fanciful. The subject of the duke as a builder is addressed by Meiss 1967, pp. 36–40, and Cazelles 1984, pp. 27–28, 85–91.
6. Champeaux and Gauchery 1894, pp. 21–24, 63–66; see also Bourges 2004, pp. 62–63.
7. Bourges 2004, pp. 102–4. The usual date for the completion of the chapel is 1405. See Paris 1981, p. 153, no. 104. Several documents, however, indicate that work progressed more rapidly than previously thought, thus justifying the earlier dating (Bourges 2004, pp. 103–4).
8. Bourges 2004, pp. 53–58.
9. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 13091. See Paris 1981, pp. 153–54, no. 104, and Bourges 2004, pp. 116–25.
10. Paris 1981, pp. 385–86, no. 332, and Bourges 2004, pp. 72–78.
11. See Paris 1981, pp. 387, no. 333, and Bourges 2004, pp. 78–79 and p. 195, no 43.
12. Bourges 2004, pp. 126–39.
13. Ibid., pp. 126–31.
14. The use of a personal device at the feet of a *gisant* may be unique to this effigy. It has been proposed that the bear was adopted as a device by the duke during his captivity in London, after the defeat of his father in the battle of Poitiers, and is based on the play on the words "bear" and "Berry." See Bourges 2004, p. 137.
15. Ibid., pp. 196–204, no. 44, 1–26. For information about the mourners in the Metropolitan's collection, see Wixom 2007, p. 20.
16. Bourges 2004, pp. 204–5, nos. 45, 48.
17. Kurmann-Schwarz 1988, p. 74, and Delmiot et al. 1999, p. 12. The earlier dating of 1388 by Champeaux and Gauchery (1894, p. 55) was based on the erroneous belief that the marriage of the duke to Jeanne de Boulogne took place in 1389 in this chapel.
18. See Kurmann-Schwarz 1988, pp. 79–86.
19. Autrand 2000, pp. 373–74.
20. See Paris 2004a, pp. 100–101, no. 39.
21. See Champeaux and Gauchery 1894, pp. 66–70.
22. The "peintre alemant" (German painter) mentioned in the document of November 21, 1408, probably refers inaccurately—as does another in 1434 (see Meiss 1974, pp. 75, 80–81)—to Paul de Limbourg.
23. Meiss 1974, pp. 70, 75, 130, 225.
24. Paris 2004a, p. 98.
25. Quoted in Champeaux and Gauchery 1894, p. 5.
26. Autrand 2000, pp. 360–63.
27. The château is also depicted in a miniature of the *Annunciation* executed in 1465 by the Master of Charles of France, tentatively identified as Jean de Laval. The leaves are now in The Cloisters Collection (acc. no. 58.71a, b). See Plummer 1982, pp. 48–49, no. 64.
28. Meiss and Off 1971, p. 225.
29. Those itemized in the 1416 inventory (see Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 2, p. 209, nos. 17, 22, 24) are all woven with gold threads, which are wanting in The Cloisters series. Although the duke's arms are repeated ten times, the arms of Charles V or Charles VI, and possibly those of Anjou and Burgundy *ancien*, also appear. Such an armorial array could suggest that a courtier to the house of Valois commissioned

the series. See Cavallo 1993, pp. 116–20, and Paris 2004a, p. 225, no. 134.

30. See Meiss 1967, p. 53; Paris 1981, pp. 210–12, no. 170; and Bourges 2004, pp. 207–8.
31. On cameos, see Meiss 1967, pp. 52–53; on the cameos from the bust of Saint Benoît, see Paris 1981, pp. 212–13, no. 171.
32. Meiss 1967, p. 69.
33. Ibid., p. 70. See also note 86 below and Paris 2004a, pp. 221–22, no. 131.
34. Meiss 1967, p. 70.
35. Scher 1996, p. 316, poses this theory as a question.
36. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 72, no. 199. For a discussion of the duke's role in the origins of the Renaissance portrait medal, see Colenbrander 1995, pp. 174–80, and Scher 1996, pp. 311–13.
37. See Meiss 1967, pp. 53–57. For the Constantine medal at The Cloisters, see Wixom in New York 1999, p. 168, no. 204, and Wixom 2003, p. 15.
38. See Meiss 1967, p. 31–32, in a chapter that informatively addresses the life of the duke.
39. According to Jean Froissart, the duke kept a servant boy in lavish style at the château Nonette, spending 200,000 francs on him. One passage of an extended poem written in 1406 mocks the duke for his obsession with a road worker whom he showered with gifts of clothes and jewelry. See Camille 2001, p. 10. See also p. 29 above and p. 35 below.
40. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 2, pp. 224–36.
41. See Paris 1981, pp. 263–65, no. 213.
42. See Tait 1986, pp. 26ff.
43. For a summary of the duke's inventories, see Meiss 1967, pp. 352–53. The first and third inventories are partially published, whereas the 1413–16 inventory appears in its entirety in Guiffrey 1894–96. For an analysis of the 1413–16 inventory with regard to the duke's manuscript collection, see Meiss and Off 1971, pp. 225–35.
44. The first inventory is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 11496.
45. The 1413 inventory is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouv. acq. Paris, Fr. 1363.
46. The third inventory is Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, Lf 841.
47. For a detailed study of the practice of exchanging *étrennes* during the reign of Charles VI, see Buettner 2001. Hirschbiegel 2003 provides an exhaustive investigation of the subject.
48. For a detailed study of this extraordinary work of art, see Munich 1995.
49. The numbers are undoubtedly low, as not all gifts, given or received, were recorded. The figures also differ among various authors. See Meiss 1967, p. 48; and Buettner 2001, p. 604.
50. Buettner 2001, p. 618.
51. These numbers are given in Meiss 1967, p. 48.
52. Meiss 1974, p. 78. For the false book, see p. 35.
53. For the inventories compiled from documents in the Archives Départementales du Cher, Bourges, see Hiver de Beauvoir 1855 and Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, pp. 10–56, 288–98, and vol. 2, pp. 167–87. For the most recent study of the treasury and library, see Bourges 2004, pp. 142–71.
54. Hiver de Beauvoir (1855, pp. 45–49) notes in his summary inventory all the objects that were melted down in 1412.
55. Bourges 2004, pp. 143–44.
56. Hiver de Beauvoir 1855, pp. 73–93.
57. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, pp. CXLI–CXLII.
58. See Meiss 1967, pp. 287–90. For a list of the surviving illuminated manuscripts known to have belonged to the duke, see ibid., appendix, pp. 309–18.
59. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. CXLII.
60. Meiss 1967, p. 49.
61. The identification of the *Très Belles Heures* (*Brussels Hours*) (Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Ms. 11060-11061) with item 1050 in the 1402 inventory has been a matter of some dispute. Meiss (1967, pp. 199–202) followed early writers in supporting it, but Robert Calkins (1970) questioned the attribution. Meiss's rebuttal (1974, p. 456, n. 281) reinforces the probability of the identification.
62. For an overview of these books, see Korteweg 2005, pp. 139–40.
63. See Nijmegen 2005, pp. 376–77, no. 104. A facsimile of this manuscript was published by Faksimile Verlag Luzern (*Petites Heures* 1988) along with a commentary volume (Avril, Dunlop, and Yapp 1989).
64. Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin, Inv. no. 47. See *Turin-Milan Hours* 1994, the fascimile, and Van Buren, Marrow, and Pettinati 1996, the commentary volume.
65. For an in-depth discussion of the duke's Books of Hours, see Korteweg 2005, esp. pp. 139ff.
66. Ibid., p. 140.
67. Both are in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 167 and Ms. fr. 166, respectively. For extensive discussions of both manuscripts, see Lowden 2000, vol. 1, pp. 221–50 and 251–84. See also pp. 36–37 below.
68. Wixom in Boehm, Quandt, and Wixom 2000, pp. 15–16.
69. A high-quality facsimile of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* was published in 2000 with a commentary volume by Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt, and William D. Wixom.
70. The Psalter of Jean de Berry was executed in Paris or Bourges, about 1386.
71. Roger S. Wieck, in a compelling essay, "Bibliophilic Jealousy and the Manuscript Patronage of Jean, Duc de Berry" (in Nijmegen 2005), discusses both manuscripts in detail. With a careful and thorough comparison of their respective contents, he clearly establishes that the duke, not to be outdone, attempted to rival or surpass the grandeur of the *Savoy Hours*. Dr. Wieck also argues that the duke's commissioning of the *Très Belles Heures* was a further attempt to excel the *Savoy Hours*.
72. Meiss (1967, pp. 82–94) compiled a catalogue of these, comprising sixty-six examples, twenty-three of which can be narrowly dated, and the remaining less so.
73. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 141, no. 472, p. 162, no. 606, p. 163, no. 611.
74. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 227, no. 234.
75. The drawing, on seventeenth-century paper, is one of the many copies after portraits of historic personages commissioned by Robert de Gaignières before his death in 1715. Meiss (1967, pp. 75–76, and 86, no. 23) believes the drawing is a copy after a lost panel portrait by the Limbourg brothers.
76. See *Belles Heures*, fol. 225: "*. . . iter prosperum et tempus transquillum ut ad locum quo pergimus. . . .*" See p. 263.
77. The image is known through a lithograph made for Count Jean-François-Auguste Bastard d'Estang (1792–1883). See Meiss 1967, vol. 2, no. 497. See fig. 45.
78. See Paris 2004a, pp. 109–11, no. 45.
79. The sculptures, originally from the Sainte-Chapelle, are now in the crypt of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges, while the likewise heavily restored sculpture of the white Virgin is in a chapel of the cathedral. Bourges, Musée du Berry, Inv. D. 1891.8.1. See Bourges 2004, pp. 123–124, 188, nos. 26 and 27.
80. See Meiss 1967, p. 78.
81. Scher 1992, pp. 282–85; Bourges 2004, pp. 126–39.
82. Camille (2001, p. 177) notes the stylishly dressed young men in the foreground with their prominent and suggestive ballock knives, particularly the one at the far left pouring wine into the duke's cup. He further notes that medieval poetry often equated cupbearers with Ganymede, who served Jupiter in that capacity in the day and as a bed partner at night.
83. See, for example, Meiss 1967, vol. 2, no. 508.
84. Meiss 1967, p. 71.
85. See Paris 2004a, pp. 120–23, no. 51.
86. Meiss 1967, pp. 46, 73.
87. *Le chevalier errant* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 12559, fol. 158v). See Porcher 1953, p. 31, and Meiss 1967, p. 70.

The Limbourg Brothers

The Rediscovery of the Limbourg Brothers

In 1830 Henri d'Orléans (1822–1897), the duke of Aumale and son of King Louis-Philippe, had inherited from the last prince of Bourbon-Condé the Château of Chantilly along with an important collection of manuscripts. In the wake of his father's abdication in 1848, the duke went into exile, living in Twickenham outside of London. A renowned bibliophile, he devoted much of his time to studying and adding to his manuscript collection, until returning to France in 1871. One of his good friends and a fellow exile was the learned Italian Antonio Panizzi, who served as a librarian and curator at the British Museum (the great circular reading room in the central courtyard today bears his name). Panizzi informed the duke, possibly in late 1855, that the baron Felix de Margherita might be willing to sell an exceptional and richly illuminated Book of Hours (fig. 34). The duke had, in fact, already seen this manuscript earlier in 1855 when visiting his mother near Genoa. Determined to acquire it, he entrusted the matter to Panizzi, who, with the aid of another intermediary, closed the sale for eighteen thousand francs in January 1856.[2] The duke, immediately appreciating "la beauté, le style, l'originalité des miniatures,"[3] was generous in sharing their beauty with others. One of those fortunate enough to examine the manuscript was Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794–1868), who had made a pioneering study of the Van Eyck brothers and served as the energetic and gifted director of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie. Impressed with the quality of the manuscript, Waagen published a description of it in 1857.[3] By 1881 Léopold Delisle had made the connection between the manuscript and an entry in the duke of Berry's 1416 inventory[4] mentioning "en une layette plusiers cayers d'unes très riches Heures, que faisoient Pol et ses frères" (in a box a number of gatherings of a very rich Book of Hours, made by Paul and his brothers).[5] "Paul and his brothers" have universally been recognized as the Limbourg brothers, and their rediscovery in connection with the *Très Riches Heures*[6] has inspired a succession of major studies, beginning with the seminal monograph by Paul Durrieu of 1904, the scholarly cornerstone of all ensuing studies on the Limbourg brothers and their manuscript painting, which are legion.[7]

Fol. 164v (detail)

The Documents

Although the Limbourg brothers were lost in the fog of history from the middle of the fifteenth until the late nineteenth century, the brothers are, in fact, the best documented painters in France of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Alfred de Champeaux and Paul Gauchery published the first biographical study of the Limbourgs in 1894, and in the 1950s Friedrich Gorissen, the municipal archivist of Cleves, Germany, compiled the extensive documentation (published in 1954 and 1957) that still constitutes the basis of our knowledge of the brothers. In 1974, Millard Meiss contributed a detailed survey of the documentation, including some corrections, as well as an addition to Gorissen.[8] In 1990, Jean-Yves Ribault added significant new documentation, and finally, the documents were revisited with many new transcriptions and fresh observations by Willy Niessen, Pieter Roelofs, and Mieke van Veen-Liefrink in 2005.

The name van Limburg/de Limbourg appears in varying permutations in the archives of Nijmegen beginning shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century, with the mention of a Johannes de Lymborgh. Recent scholarship argues that this man came to Nijmegen, a principal city in what was then the duchy of Guelders, from the village of Limbourg on the Vesdre River between Aachen and Liège and that he was the father of Arnold de Lymborch, a sculptor born in Nijmegen about 1355 to 1360 and mentioned in the local archives between 1389 and 1419.[9] Arnold was married about 1385 to a Mechteld or Metta Maelwael, the sister of the painter Johan.[10] The couple had at least six children between 1385 and 1395: the eldest was almost certainly Herman, followed by Paul (born ca. 1386 or 1387), Johan or Jean (ca. 1388), Rutger (ca. 1390), Arnold (ca. 1392), and finally by the only daughter, Greta (by 1395).[11]

About 1398 Herman and Jean de Limbourg were sent by their mother to Paris where they were apprenticed to a goldsmith by the

Fig. 34. Limbourg brothers. *Saint John on Patmos. Très Riches Heures*, 1412/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 17)

name of Alebret de Bolure, known to have purveyed items to Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, between 1394 and 1396. About this time it is likely that the boys' uncle Johan Maelwael, who was then in Paris working for Queen Isabeau of Bavaria (1371–1435), met the goldsmith, and Maelwael may well have played a role in securing the position for the boys.[12] Although an apprenticeship would normally last at least six years, we know through a document dated May 2, 1400, that the boys were sent back to Nijmegen "pour cause de la mortalite estant nagaires a Paris" (because death was then about in Paris), probably in November 1399.[13] The document identifies the brothers Hermant and Jacquemin Maleuel (referred to as "Herman" and "Gillequin" in the same document, and the latter elsewhere as "Janequin," "Jannechin," and "Hennequin") as nephews of Johan Maelwael, painter and *varlet de chambre* to Philip the Bold.[14] On route home the boys ("jounes enfants") were seized in Brussels and held for ransom, as Brabant was involved in a dispute with the boys' homeland of Guelders ("pais de Ghelre"). The two boys were held for more than six months—from November 1399 until May 1400—and a ransom of fifty-five *écus* was demanded. The boys' mother, who had just lost her husband (the boys' father), was obligated to pay their prison expenses.[15] Out of respect for Johan Maelwael the painters and goldsmiths of Brussels agreed to pay the ransom, but Philip the Bold, who valued Maelwael's services, advanced the money by an order issued at Conflans near Paris, and the boys were freed.[16] By this account, Herman would have been no more than fifteen and Jean about twelve when the duke of Burgundy paid their ransom.

The activities of the Limbourgs immediately after their release are unknown, but it has been suggested that the brothers traveled to Italy. There is no documentary evidence, however, to support this.[17] A document dating between February 8 and May 8, 1402, reveals that Philip the Bold hired "Polequin Manuel et Jennequin Manuel, elumineurs . . . pour faire les ystoires d'une très belle et notable Bible" (. . . to illuminate a very beautiful and notable Bible). The document states that they were to devote themselves to this work, to take no other employment, and to complete the work within four years. Each brother would be paid ten *sous* per day. Jean Durant, the duke's physician in Paris, was entrusted with the care of the painters and the supervision of their work, for which he received an advance of six hundred francs. In July of the same year, Durant was given further funds by the duke to buy *fin asur*, probably ultramarine, which was to be used in the illumination of *certainz livres* (certain books) that were being made for the duke, possibly including the Bible that the Limbourgs were illuminating. In January 1403, the duke gave each of the brothers a gift of ten gold *écus* to be applied toward clothing, suggesting that the duke was pleased with their progress.[18]

His continuing satisfaction was expressed in January 1404, as the duke paid another six hundred francs to Paul and Jean for the "perfeccion des histories et enlumineure de certaine Bible" (the completion of the historiated scenes and illumination of a certain Bible).[19] The duke of Burgundy died several months later on April 27, and nothing further is heard of the Limbourgs' Bible.[20] Shortly after Philip's death, his brother, Jean, duc de Berry, engaged the brothers and retained their services, as it turned out, for the rest of their lives. These are, unfortunately, the only documents pertaining to the manuscript commissions of the Limbourg brothers. Further knowledge of their work is gleaned from the inventories of Robinet d'Estampes, the duke's *varlet de chambre* and *garde des joyaux*, which are discussed below, and from internal evidence in the manuscripts themselves.

From 1408 until the deaths of the duke of Berry and the Limbourg brothers in 1416 there are more than a dozen documents that relate to either payments made by the duke or to the exchange of gifts between the duke and the Limbourg brothers. On January 1, 1408, Jean de Berry gave Paul de Limbourg a gold ring mounted with an emerald in the shape of a bear; on February 1, 1412,

he gave Paul a diamond ring acquired a decade earlier, and after January 1, 1413, the duke gave another diamond ring, which he had received from the comte de Nevers, to Paul. The duke gave Paul a gift of one hundred *écus* on November 9, 1413, "pour soy vestir et estre plus honnestement en son service" (so he could clothe himself and be more honorable in the duke's employ),[21] suggesting that he had come to occupy an elevated position in the duke's household. On New Year's Day 1414 or 1415, the duke gave diamonds to all the brothers, as well as to his secretary, Jean Flamel, and others.[22] Other exchanges were clearly financial transactions: in August 1415, for example, the brothers, all of whom by this point carried the title *varlet de chambre*, received from the duke a gold ring set with a ruby that was specified as a security for a loan of one hundred gold *écus*. It is a measure of the special relationship they enjoyed that the illuminators were in a position to lend their princely patron money. In several instances it is the duke who is the recipient; for example, on January 1, 1415, Paul gave the duke a lavish *étrenne* in the form of "une petite sallière de gathe, garnie d'or" (a small agate saltcellar mounted in gold) with a gold lid surmounted by a sapphire and pearls.[23]

While these exchanges may well have been customary in courtly circles, others clearly must be viewed as exceptional. A notable instance is the *étrenne* given by the brothers to the duke in 1411: "un livre contrefait d'une pièce de bois paincte en semblance d'un livre, où il n'a nuls fueillets ne riens escript; couvert de veluiau blanc, à deux fermouers d'argent dorez, esmaillez aux armes de Monseigneur" (a false book, a block of wood painted to look like a book, without any pages, without writing, with a cover of white velvet, with two clasps of gilded silver enameled with the coat of arms of the duke).[24] Although short on material value, the gift was greatly valued for its *estrangeté*, or wit and visual cleverness, and the duke had it inventoried with the rest of his manuscripts. Such a playful and humorous gift reveals a remarkable familiarity and intimacy in the relationship between the patron and his artists, quite unlike anything encountered in medieval documents.

The extraordinary favor enjoyed by Paul is underscored by the housing he was provided in Bourges. The residence was no ordinary house. The duke had acquired it in 1401 from his former *sénéchal* (a steward, often with broad administrative powers), Thibault Portier. It was then given to his treasurer Christophe de la Mar, and subsequently conveyed to Paul after the treasurer was dismissed. In a document of 1434 it was described as "une des plus grans et plus spacieuse et notable de nostre dite ville de Bourges, et peut bien valoir de deux à trios mil escuz d'or ou environs . . . et qu'elle seroit bien séant et proper pour logier l'un des seigneurs de nostre sang et lignage" (one of the largest and most imposing houses in Bourges . . . worth around two or three thousand gold *écus* and suitable for housing a nobleman of royal blood).[25] For a patron to furnish his favorite artist with such a palatial residence is without precedent.[26]

The lengths to which the duke was prepared to go are suggested by a group of documents relating to a bizarre series of events.[27] In September 1406 men acting on behalf of the duke of Berry broke into the house of the bishop of Le Puy in Bourges and stole a Bible, a breviary, a belt, and other items, and forcibly abducted a young girl. If this girl is the same one who appears in subsequent documents, she was named Gillette de Mercière and was six years old at the time. In November 1408 *les seigneurs de la court*, or court officials, attempted to free a girl who was being held in the *hostel de Wincestre*, the duke's residence at Bicêtre outside Paris, against the will of her mother and friends. The duke apparently wished the girl to be married to the *peintre alemant* who was working for him at the château of Bicêtre. This German painter is thought to refer to Paul de Limbourg, as he is also erroneously identified as "Pol, natif du païs d'Alemaigne" in the document mentioned above concerning the house in Bourges. The following January, Charles VI ordered the Cour au Conseil to remand the girl, Gillette de Mercière, now about nine years old, to the king's *grant maistre d'ostel* (grand steward). Slightly more than a month later she was released to the satisfaction of her mother, Marie de Brueil, widow of a rich merchant Giles de Mercier and wife of Audebert de Catin, who had supplied the duke with gold and silver dinnerware. If the mentioned painter was indeed Paul and if the girl mentioned in all cases was one and the same—the possibility of which is enhanced by the fact that Paul eventually did marry a woman by the name of Gillette de Mercière—the duke's role in the affair is peculiar indeed. The duke had the girl abducted, and although she was released after only three years, the duke was prepared to hold her captive for at least six years until she reached the legally marriageable age of twelve. To take such extreme measures to procure a spouse for his favorite artist would appear to exceed the bounds of the rational, but not the obsessive. The duke's voracious appetite for works of art, in fact, has been linked with his sexual desires—his predilection was for youth, usually male. Jean Froissart gives an account of one such instance, and more recent writers have argued that pleasures (*plaisances*) and fantasies (*fantasies*)—terms Froissart employed in reference to the duke and his objects, such as the fabrication of his favorite château, Mehun-sur-Yèvre—that intensified the pursuit and its successful conclusion, blurred the borders of acquisitiveness and eroticism.[28] If, indeed, the duke admired Paul de Limbourg as much for his artistry as his person, the painter assuredly was charged with a delicate balancing act.

The remaining documents pertain either to sums owed to or paid out by the brothers or to the disposition of their real and tangible property in Nijmegen. As early as June 1410, the brothers began to make arrangements for their holdings; in this instance, Herman and Jean consigned their interests in Nijmegen to the use of their mother and her heirs.[29] In March 1415, Herman and Paul, acting for their siblings as well, consigned by deed half of their

father's house and its contents to a priest by the name of Segerus of Weelderen.[30] A little more than one week later, Jean deeded all of his Nijmegen property to his brother Paul.[31] Jean died in early March of the next year, followed by his brothers Paul and Herman in September and October, respectively. Their siblings Arnold and Greta appointed an executor to identify and collect all their possessions in France and Berry and to transfer these to Arnold's brother-in-law, Theodoric Neven.[32]

The Manuscripts

The documents of spring 1402 through January 1404 discussed above establish that Philip the Bold had engaged Paul and Jean de Limbourg to illuminate a "très belle et notable Bible," their first known commission, and that the work progressed, apparently in Paris, until the duke's death on April 27, 1404. Meiss and other scholars identify this Bible with the *Bible moralisée* (Moralized Bible) now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. fr. 166).[33] Given the close stylistic relationship to their later work, particularly the *Belles Heures*, there can be little doubt that the adolescent Limbourg brothers illuminated the first three quires—and many, if not all, of the preparatory drawings for the fourth—of the *Bible moralisée*. Likewise, there is no question that Ms. fr. 166 was closely modeled on an earlier *Bible moralisée* also in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. fr. 167). This splendid example was commissioned by John II the Good and was illuminated in grisaille by thirteen or more artists under the direction of John de Montmartre between 1349 and 1352. The manuscript came into the possession of John II the Good's younger son, Philip the Bold, and appears in his inventories of 1401 and thus was available to the Limbourg brothers (see figs. 96, 97).

However, whether Ms. fr. 166 is in fact one and the same as the "très belle et notable Bible" is a matter of considerable debate, and there are compelling arguments against this linkage.[34] Foremost of these is that the documents refer to a Bible, not a Moralized Bible, which is distinctly different. In a *Bible moralisée* select biblical verses are coupled with explanatory Latin texts—and, in the case of the two examples discussed here, both are given a French translation—and each of these texts was paired with an illustration. *Bibles moralisées* were vast undertakings generally requiring more than five thousand illuminations. They were enormously expensive and affordable only in the richest of princely circles, from whence all known examples emanated. Furthermore, in the more than two years the brothers worked on the manuscript they completed only 384 miniatures out of a projected 5,122. To complete the manuscript within the contracted four years they would have had to complete on average 1,280 illuminations each year.[35] This apparent delinquency does not compute with the duke's clear expressions of pleasure with the brothers' progress.

The hypotheses that the brothers were contracted to "complete" the illustrations not already in production with other artists, or that they were working on Ms. fr. 166 while also illuminating a "très belle et notable Bible" are not without flaws, although the latter is more probable.[36] It has been proposed that the Bible referred to in the 1402 document was not a *Bible moralisée* but a *Bible Historiale* or *Hystorians*, lavish versions of which generally had no more than two or three hundred illuminations, certainly manageable in a four-year period.[37] Such a Bible was commissioned

Fig. 35. *Historiated Initial with Jean de Berry and Canon.* Lithographic copy after a lost miniature by the Limbourg brothers for the charter of the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, 1405. Copy commissioned by August de Bastard d'Estang (1832–1869). Archives de Département du Cher, Bourges (J771, enlarged detail)

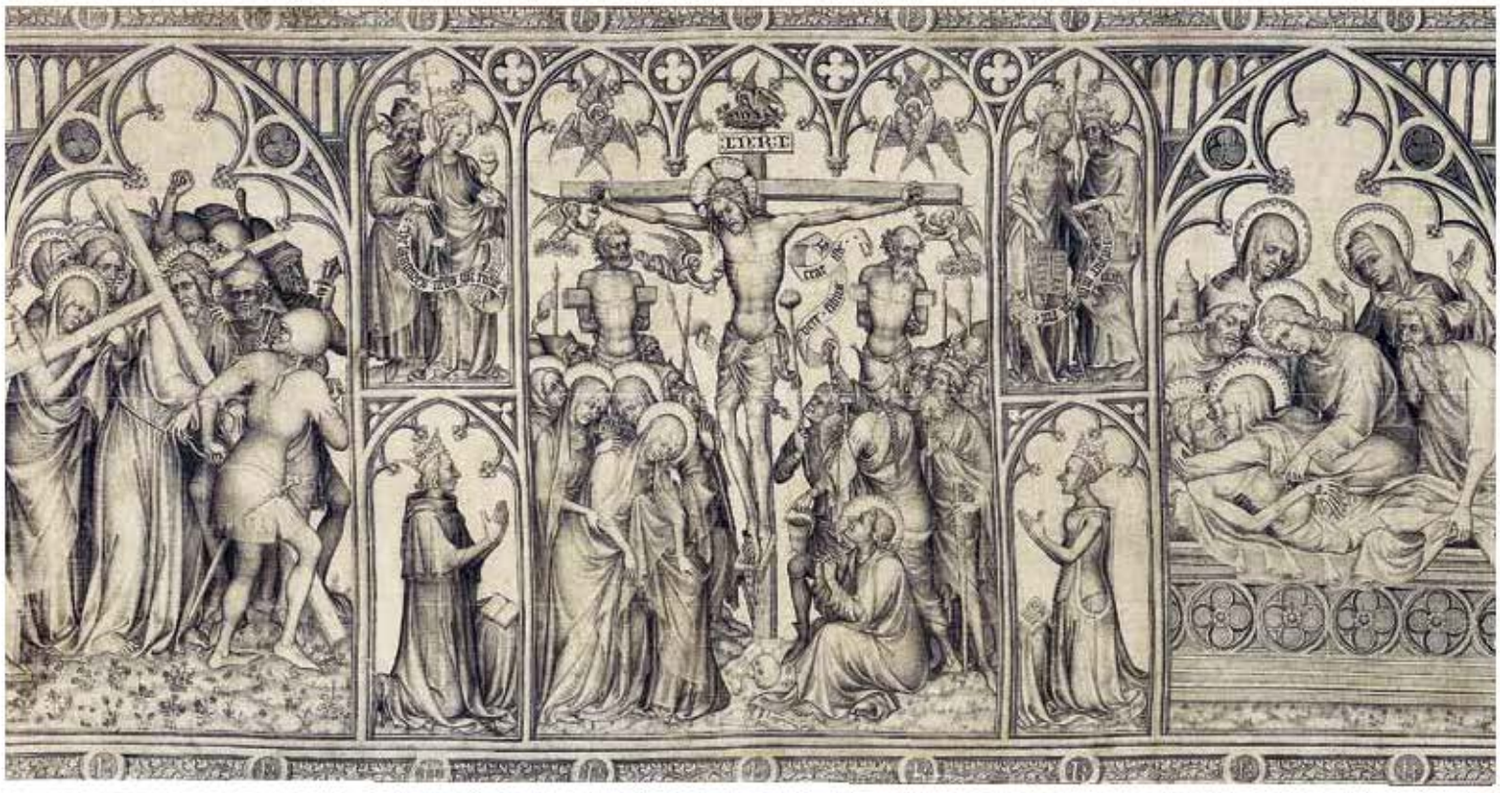


Fig. 36. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, Jean d'Orléans (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Parement de Narbonne*, ca. 1375–78. Grisaille on silk, 30¾ in. × 9⅛ ft. (78 cm × 2.86 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris (M.I. 1121, detail)

for Charles V in 1372 and eventually ended up in the library of Jean de Berry.[38] This would imply another manuscript illuminated by the Limbourg brothers that has yet to be rediscovered or, more likely, was destroyed. In any event, the opening quires in Ms. fr. 166 reveal a tentative start in which the brothers carefully followed their model but soon became more daring and assured in the development and execution of their compositions. What is cast in doubt is the date of execution of the opening quires of Ms. fr. 166, although a date of about 1400 or slightly later accords in stylistic terms with the *Belles Heures*, which it assuredly predates—particularly if the brothers had an intermediate project that bridged the two.

Unfortunately, no record survives concerning either the circumstances or the activities of the Limbourg brothers immediately following the death of their patron the duke of Burgundy on April 27, 1404. The next mention comes in the form of a marginal note added to Jean de Berry's inventory of 1401–3 begun

Fig. 37. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, Jean d'Orléans (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Visitation*. *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, begun by ca. 1390. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11½ × 8⅛ in. (29 × 20.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 28, detail)

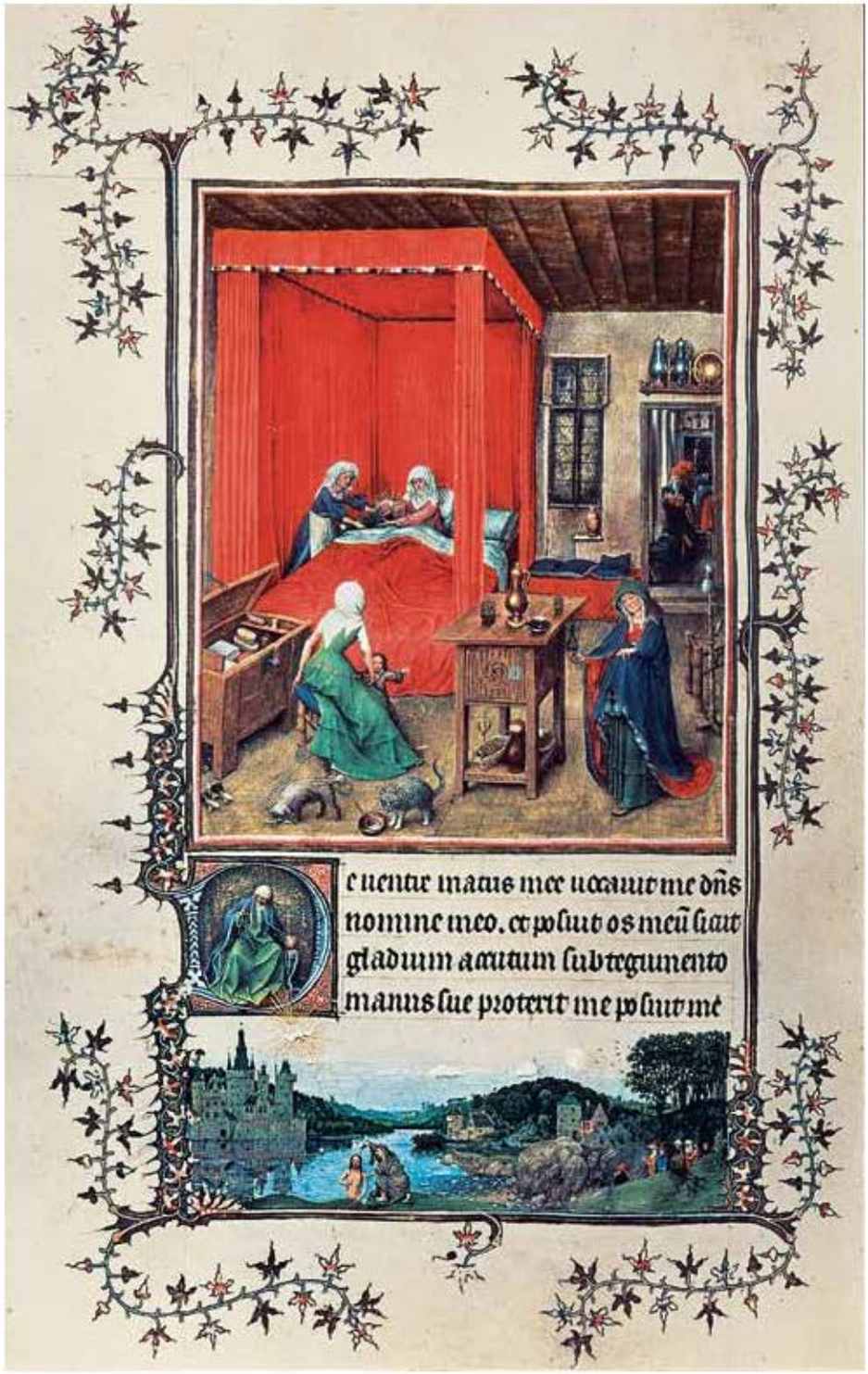


Fig. 38. Jan van Eyck (Netherlandish, ca. 1380/90–1441). *Birth of Saint John the Baptist. Turin-Milan Hours*, ca. 1424. Tempera on parchment, 11 × 7⅝ in. (28 × 20 cm). Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin (Ms. 47, fol. 93v)

by Guillaume de Ruilly and completed by Robinet d'Estampes. The Latin notation states that the duke gave "Paul and his two brothers, the illuminators" (Paulo et II^{bus} fratribus suis, illuminatoribus) nine gold coins and subsequently twelve more;[39] this is the first time that all three brothers are named together and identified as manuscript illuminators. For what the gold coins were in recompense is unknown, but because this insertion falls among other notes pertaining to donations to the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges made over about 1405, some scholars have reasonably concluded that it may have been payment for the historiated initial that opens the duke's charter of the Saint-Chapelle at Bourges dated April 18, 1405, although twenty-one gold coins may seem a lavish compensation for a single, small illumination.[40] The miniature shows the duke in robes of state seated on a canopied throne investing a canon of the new chapel with the robes of his office. The original was destroyed by fire in 1858, but the composi-

Fig. 39. Holy Spirit Master (Paris, late 14th–early 15th century). *Resurrection of the Dead. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, ca. 1405. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 20.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 169)

Fig. 40. Limbourg brothers. *Adoration of the Trinity; Creation. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, ca. 1405. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7¾ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 225)

Fig. 41. Limbourg brothers. *Invocation of the Spirits; Saint Anthony and the Satyr. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, ca. 1405. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7¾ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 240, detail)

tion is preserved in a nineteenth-century lithographic reproduction (fig. 35).[42] If the reproduction can be relied upon, the illumination reflects the style of the Limbourg brothers at a fairly early date. The orthogonals of the floor tiling, for example, barely seem to converge, and the relationship between the floor and the throne sitting upon it is ambiguous and awkward. Comparable problems of ill-defined spatial relationships are likewise evident in many of the compositions in the *Bible moralisée*.

About this time the duke had resuscitated a project that began several decades earlier but had long lapsed into abeyance. One of the most complex and important illuminated manuscripts produced in the fourteenth century, this ambitious volume, a Book of Hours, was enhanced with numerous subsidiary offices, prayers,

Fig. 42. *Saint Anthony Receives Directions from a Satyr*, fol. 192 (detail)

Fig. 43. *Throne of Grace*, fol. 204 (detail)

Fig. 44. *The Exaltation of the Cross*, fol. 157 (detail)

and the texts of the Masses for all the principal feast days of the liturgical year.[42] The duke had entrusted the decoration of the manuscript to the Master of the Parement de Narbonne and his workshop at some point between the early 1380s and early 1390s.[43] Known after his most famous surviving work, an altar frontal, or *parement*, painted in grisaille (fig. 36), this anonymous Parisian artist may have been the court painter of Charles V, Jean d'Orléans.[44] For unknown reasons, the Parement Master left the manuscript incomplete, but as he is not heard of again, his death was the probable cause.[45] At this point the manuscript was apparently shelved unbound, and more than a decade later, the duke divided it, still incomplete, into two parts. The first section, essentially a Book of Hours, known as the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, is today conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093) (fig. 37).[46] About 1405 the remaining gatherings were acquired by John of Bavaria, bishop elect of Liège, and thence remained in the possession of the house of Hainault and Holland until the middle of the century, about 1440–45. During this period the illuminations were completed in three campaigns by a number of artists including Jan van Eyck, some of his close associates, and by later followers in Bruges (fig. 38). The manuscript was then in the possession of the Burgundian dukes and subsequently of the dukes of Savoy. In the seventeenth century this manuscript, too, was divided into two sections. The one comprising the prayers ended up in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin, hence the *Turin Hours*, where it was consumed in a fire in 1904 and is known today only through the black-and-white reproductions in the study of Paul Durrieu, which had been fortuitously published two years earlier.[47] The compendium of Masses (missal) was acquired by the Trivulzio family in Milan, eventually was given to Turin and housed in the Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, and is thus known, inaccurately, as the *Turin-Milan Hours*.[48]

After a considerable hiatus, the duke resumed work on the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* by engaging two anonymous artists who completed about twelve large unfinished illuminations in the Hours of the Holy Spirit and in the Hours of the Cross (fig. 39).[49] This second and brief campaign of illumination of the Paris manuscript must have occurred between the death of Philip the Bold on April 27, 1404, which is noted in the Calendar attached to it, and early 1409, by which time the *Grandes Heures*, which reprises a number of its compositions, was completed.[50]

As the entire, albeit incomplete, manuscript had been in the duke's possession for a decade or more, the fact that a "très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame"[51] is mentioned for the first time in the inventory compiled by Robinet that concluded at the end of January 1406,[52] would seem to confirm that the Book of Hours section had been separated and, as some have argued, even bound by the end of 1405.[53] Like the *Très Riches Heures*, which was never completed in the duke's lifetime, Robinet apparently did not inventory unfinished or unbound manuscripts. With the addition of the Calendar and the completion of most of the illuminations, the duke had, in fact, a basic Book of Hours. Robinet's fourth inventory of the acquisitions of the duke was begun on February 1, 1412, and concluded on January 13, 1413.[54] The entry for the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* notes that in April 1405 the duke had bought a clasp and some gems from a Paris merchant that were added to the bookmark of the manuscript.[55] By implication, this further supports the argument that the manuscript was separated and bound by late 1405 or at least before January 31, 1406.

About this time, probably in late 1405, the duke must have engaged the Limbourg brothers to provide several more illu-

Fig. 45. After the Limbourg brothers. *Jean de Berry and Entourage Set Off on a Journey (Itinerary of the Duke). Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, ca. 1405. Nineteenth-century reproduction of lost illumination.

minations to fill in the blanks, as it were. Indeed, the two surviving images are executed on existing folios within the fourteenth-century ruled framework; one represents the Adoration of the Trinity with the Creation in the *bas-de-page* (fig. 40) and the other the Invocation of the Spirits with Saint Anthony encountering the Satyr on his way to the hermitage of Saint Paul (fig. 41), an unusual subject that also appears in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 42). Seraphim were added to the borders, and as in the *Belles Heures*, the brothers scraped away part of the upper border to extend the picture field. The composition of the *Adoration of the Trinity* is, in part, reprised in the *Exultation of the Cross* (fig. 44) and in the *Throne of Grace* (fig. 43) in the *Belles Heures*. A third illumination, depicting the duke with an entourage meeting another group before a castle gate, perhaps setting off on a journey—the Itinerary—was separated from the manuscript and is known only through a nineteenth-century reproduction (fig. 45).[36] Presumably this had been added to the end of the manuscript along with a prayer as in the case both in the *Belles Heures* (fol. 223v, p. 262) and later in the *Petites Heures* (fig. 49). Thus the duke resolved, in part, a long languishing project for which he no doubt had lost patience. It is also tempting to speculate that the duke was eager to test the skills of the Limbourg brothers now that they were no longer contracted to his recently deceased brother. If this was the case, the brothers did not disappoint, for it must have been at this very time that the duke commissioned them for the *Belles Heures*. Indeed, it may have been with a new commission for the brothers in mind that the duke chose to keep their involvement in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* to a minimum. Given this chronology, the twenty-one gold coins (mentioned about 1405), which seems excessive remuneration for one historiated initial—presuming they were in fact a payment—could just as well relate to their work on the illuminations for the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* or the *Belles Heures*. The latter possibility holds significant implications, as it would be the only documentary evidence that all three brothers worked on the manuscript.

In Robinet's fourth account, item 960 concerns a Book of Hours, the description of which leaves no doubt as to its identity:

> Item, unes belles Heures, très bien et richement histories; et après est historiée la Vie et Passion de Saincte Katherine; et ensuivant sont les escriptes les quatre Euvangiles et deux oroisons

Fig. 46. Attributed to the Limbourg brothers. *Author Portrait of Valerius Maximus*, ca. 1408–10. *De dictus factisque mirabilibus*, by Roman historian Valerius Maximus. Ink and tempera on parchment, 13 × 5½ in. (33.1 × 14 cm). Vatican Library (Cod. reg. lat. 959, fol. 1, detail)

Fig. 47. *Saint Jerome Translating the Bible*, fol. 287v (detail)

de Nostre Dame; et après commancement les Heures de Nostre Dame, et s'ensuivent pluseurs autres heures et oroisons; et au commancement de second fueillet desdictes Heures de Nostre Dame, a escript: audieritis; couvertes de veluiau vermeil, à deux fermoues d'or, esquielx sont les armes de Monseigneur de haulte taille; et par dessus lesdictes Heures a une chemise de veluiau vermei, doublé de satin rouge; lesquelles Heures Monseigneurs a fait faire par ses ouvriers.[57]

(Item, a beautiful Hours, very well and richly illuminated; and after is illustrated the life and martyrdom of Saint Catherine; and following that are the four Gospels and two prayers to the Virgin; and after commencing the Hours of Our Lady, and following numerous other Hours and prayers; and at the beginning of the second page of said Hours of Our Lady, is written: *audieritis* [you shall hear]; covered in scarlet velvet, with two gold clasps upon which are the arms of the duke in high relief; and over said Hours a covering of scarlet velvet, lined with red satin; these Hours the duke had made by his workers.)

Item 959, the works of Christine de Pisan,[58] was accessioned in 1408,[59] and item 961, the *Grandes Heures*, is dated 1409, followed by item 962 on July 9, 1409, suggesting that the *Belles Heures* must have been completed in 1408 or by early 1409. Taking into account the speed with which the two brothers worked on the *Bible moralisée*, and the diminutive size of the illuminations, one can reasonably postulate that the three brothers, assuming—in the absence of any documentation—that all three brothers did in fact work on the *Belles Heures*, completed the 172 illuminations, 94 of which were full-page, in about three years.[60] This reckoning further supports a starting date for the *Belles Heures* before the end of 1405.[61]

The fact that the Limbourg brothers are not specifically mentioned in this detailed entry, but are referred to as the duke's

Fig. 48. *The Annunciation*, fol. 30 (detail)

"workers," does not cast the slightest doubt on the authorship of the manuscript.[62] Meiss attempted to explain away this rather cold and impersonal reference—as he saw it—by their youth and lack of professional standing.[63] As the Limbourg brothers enjoyed considerable standing in the duke's eyes, the term is unlikely to have been understood as demeaning. At the time, it may well have been the exception rather than the rule to identify artists by name.[64]

A much-damaged small miniature on the opening folio of a manuscript with the partial text of *De dictus factisque mirabilibus* by the Roman historian Valerius Maximus depicting the author at work in his study (fig. 46) has been attributed to the Limbourg brothers.[65] While the original owner of the manuscript is unknown,[66] Meiss assumed an Italian origin because of the Italianate *rotunda* script of the text and postulated that one of the brothers painted the illumination during an Italian trip in either 1404–5 or 1410–11.[67] There is, however, no concrete evidence for a trip to Italy by any of the brothers, and as has been pointed out, the *rotunda* script was used in France as well.[68] Furthermore, the decorated initials and the border decoration are distinctly Parisian and can be found in numerous manuscripts belonging to the Valois princes. It is possible, then, that the codex was copied in Italy and brought to Paris for decoration or that it was entirely a Parisian product and a royal commission, perhaps ordered by Jean de France, for whom a French translation of Valerius was completed in 1402. The attribution of the miniature to the Limbourgs is difficult to fully sustain because of its condition, but the composition clearly echoes that of *Saint Jerome Translating the Bible* (fig. 47), and the arcading with its relief of acanthus foliage and the squatting figure in the pendent capital are very close to that in the *Annunciation* (fig. 48). The similarity to these more advanced compositions argue for a date nearing the completion of the *Belles Heures* or shortly thereafter, about 1408 to 1410.

Jean de Berry had commissioned Jean Le Noir, a pupil of Jean Pucelle, who was living in Bourges in 1375, to illuminate a Book of Hours known as the *Petites Heures*.[69] By the time of his death in 1380, however, Le Noir had only painted nine miniatures. The completion of the manuscript was entrusted to Jacquemart de Hesdin, whom the duke had engaged in 1384, to a close assistant known as the Master of the Trinity, and to another hand known as the Pseudo-Jacquemart, who painted in underdrawings left by Le Noir and also contributed his own compositions. About 1412 a final leaf was added—painted by the Limbourg brothers—which depicted the duke in black robes with gold-and-red embroidery, outside a city gate setting off on a journey with his entourage (fig. 49). This, then, was the third extant manuscript to which the duke had added this Itinerary, a very personal postscript. Above, an angel—similar to that in the *Flight into Egypt* in the *Belles Heures*—points the way, and as the duke is now clearly an older man, the angel's guidance may not be entirely bound to the earthly realm (fig. 50).

Fig. 49. Limbourg brothers. *Duke of Berry Setting Off on a Trip*, ca. 1412. *Petites Heures*. Ink and tempera on parchment, 8½ × 5¾ in. (21.5 × 14.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. lat. 18014, fol. 288v)

With what the Limbourg brothers were occupied in the years immediately after the completion of the *Belles Heures* and before they embarked on their astonishing achievements in their final work, the *Très Riches Heures*, is unknown.[70] Nor is it clear how much time elapsed between these two monumental enterprises. Meiss suggests that the brothers may have started on the *Très Riches Heures* as early as 1411 and continued work on it until their deaths in 1416.[71] That premise would suggest that the thirty-five large miniatures, twenty-five smaller scenes, and one composite page for which they were responsible took about five years to execute. This is about one-third of the output the brothers accomplished in the three years they worked on the *Belles Heures*. Even taking into account the greater scale and complexity of many of the illuminations and the possible disruptions occurred by changes in

Fig. 50. *The Flight into Egypt*, fol. 63 (detail)

the program, the pace seems unaccountably slow. For this reason Raymond Cazelles argued that work on the *Très Riches Heures* was intermittent, the brothers being involved in other projects for the duke.[72] The earlier several stages of execution, he notes, are less complex and stylistically closer to the *Belles Heures* than the later ones. However, the *Belles Heures* also underwent changes in plan, and the style of the brothers noticeably advanced as the manuscript progressed apparently in a single uninterrupted campaign. It seems likely that work on the *Très Riches Heures* began in 1411 or 1412, though unfortunately, there is no accounting for their activities in these few intervening years.[73] In any event, work was cut short by the brothers' untimely deaths, and one is hard-pressed to imagine what their inimitable yet still burgeoning creative powers might have wrought had fate allowed them to see their old age. Their legacy, notwithstanding their unnaturally short lives, is towering, and the artistic achievements of the three principal manuscripts they illuminated are the subject of a separate chapter.

1. Another interested buyer was Adolphe de Rothschild (1823–1900), who had begun negotiations in November 1855 with the Serra family in Genoa (see De Hamel 2005, p. 5). There seems to be some question of the amount: De Hamel asserts that Rothschild offered eighteen thousand francs, but was bested by the duke of Aumale's offer of twenty thousand francs. Cazelles (1984, p. 59) cites the receipt given to the duke of Aumale for eighteen thousand francs. There is, however, no question as to the winner.
2. Cazelles 1984, p. 59, n. 1.
3. Waagen 1857, pp. 248–59.
4. Delisle 1881, p. 179, no. 101; Delisle 1884, p. 403.
5. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 2, p. 280, no. 1164.
6. Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 65.
7. These include Porcher 1950, Cazelles 1984, and those mentioned in the Preface above, to name but a few of the more important.
8. Meiss 1974, pp. 71–81.
9. Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 14.
10. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
11. Ibid., p. 15. The activities of the painters' younger brothers are well accounted for: Rutger from 1414 until his death in 1435 was a canon of the chapter of Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges, and Arnold was apprenticed in 1417 to a Nijmegen goldsmith and was married two years later.
12. Ibid., p. 16.
13. Meiss 1974, p. 72, provides a transcription of the document.
14. Ibid., p. 67.
15. Ibid. The mother is described as a very poor woman ("une très povre femme"), but as Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink (2005, p. 18) note, other documents show that in fact, she was a woman of considerable means; the description is thus taken as a mark of sympathy rather than of reduced means.
16. Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 18.
17. In a 1930 article titled "Paul de Limbourg in Florence," Friedrich Winkler argued that the similarity between the inhabited foliate border for the *Annunciation* in the *Belles Heures* and the carved surrounds of the "Porta della Mandorla" of the Duomo in Florence establishes that at least Paul made a transalpine trip. Meiss (1974) does not question the veracity of the claim. More recently, the theory was given tentative support by Châtelet (1982, p. 16). In a subsequent chapter, I will argue that it is unlikely that the Limbourg brothers ever set foot on Italian soil.
18. The documents are discussed by Meiss 1974, pp. 67–68, and transcribed on pp. 72–73. See also Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 18.
19. The document is discussed by Meiss 1974, p. 68, and transcribed on pp. 73–74. See also Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, pp. 18–19.
20. The Bible does not appear in the duke's inventory or in that of his wife, Marguerite of Flanders, who died the following year.
21. Meiss 1974, p. 77.
22. Ibid., pp. 77. See also Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, pp. 21–22.
23. Meiss 1974, p. 78.
24. Ibid., p. 76.
25. Ibid., pp. 80–81.
26. Artist André Beauneveu also enjoyed an unusually cordial relationship with the duke, who installed him in his favorite château, Mehun-sur-Yèvre, commissioned sculptural programs, and encouraged him to work in other areas, such as manuscript illumination, which were not his primary métier.
27. For a discussion of the documents concerning this affair, see Meiss 1974, pp. 69, 74–75, and Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 22.
28. Camille 2002, pp. 9–11.
29. Meiss 1974, p. 76.
30. Ibid., p. 78.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., pp. 79–80.
33. Ibid., pp. 67, 81–82. That the two are one and the same was asserted most recently by Philippe Lorentz in Paris 2004a, p. 297, no. 184.
34. See Dückers 2005b, pp. 87–88.
35. These arguments are also put forward by Colenbrander 1992, pp. 112–14, and Lowden 2000, vol. 1, pp. 270–76.
36. Lowden 2000, vol. 1, p. 275.
37. Dückers 2005b, p. 89.
38. Museum Meermanno, The Hague, Ms. 10 B 23.

39. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 2, p. 26, after 122. See also Meiss 1974, p. 74.
40. On the charter and its dating, see Meiss 1974, p. 102. On the payment of gold coins, see Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 20.
41. The lithographic copy was commissioned by August de Bastard d'Estang (1832–1869); see Meiss 1967, p. 84, n. 10. For arguments firmly relating the miniature with the Limbourgs, see Meiss 1974, p. 102.
42. Meiss (1967, pp. 107–12) quite conclusively establishes that Jean de Berry commissioned the manuscript and that it remained in his possession until 1413.
43. In general, scholars have accepted Meiss's contention that work began on the manuscript about 1380 (Meiss 1967, pp. 111–12, gives it as "around 1382") and his statement that Jean de Berry "in all probability" was the original commissioner. Van Buren (1996, pp. 267, 275), on the other hand, does not question the duke's role as the commissioner, stating that it is "practically certain" that he commissioned the texts from the Paris scribe Jean L'Avenant in 1389 and that the decoration of the manuscript began in 1390 or slightly later.
44. Van Buren 1996, p. 281. See Paris 2004a, pp. 47–48, no. 8.
45. Illuminations for the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, the Prayers of the Passion, and at least the first four illuminations of the Hours of the Cross were completed. The three remaining illuminations from the Hours of the Cross were overpainted in the second campaign by the Master of John the Baptist, presumably because they were left incomplete.
46. A high-quality facsimile of this manuscript was published in 1992 along with a commentary volume (König 1992). This text was reissued in a fully illustrated volume in 1998. The manuscript is paginated, not foliated.
47. Durrieu 1902. In what appears to be a case of fortuitous vandalism, four leaves comprising five illuminations were, for unknown reasons at an unknown date, removed from the manuscript and are preserved in the Louvre (RF. 2022, 2023, 2024, and 2025).
48. Work continued on the component manuscripts at the behest of their varying owners from the 1390s until as late as the 1440s. As a whole they constitute a remarkable compendium of some of the most gifted painters of the times. Meiss (1967, pp. 107–12) gives a concise account of the manuscripts and provides convincing evidence that all three sections originally belonged together. A high-quality facsimile of this manuscript was published in 1994, and subsequently accompanied by a commentary text (Van Buren, Marrow, and Pettenati 1996).
49. The Master of the Holy Spirit painted all or most of the eight large illuminations in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Terce (possibly representing Peter Preaching) and Sext (possibly showing the Faithful Enter the Church) are missing. The Master of John the Baptist completed the last three or four illuminations in the Hours of the Cross, which had been left incomplete by the Parement Master: *Carrying of the Cross* (partially overpainted), *Crucifixion*, *Deposition*, and presumably the *Entombment*/Compline, which is missing. He also completed or overpainted the *Baptism of Christ* in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Van Buren (1996, p. 288) argues that the *retardataire* style of the Baptist Master must date earlier.
50. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. lat. 919. This, the largest of the duke's Books of Hours, was illuminated by Jacquemart de Hesdin, a close follower known as the Pseudo-Jacquemart, and others. The folios measure approximately 15¾ × 11¾ in. (40 × 30 cm). For a thorough discussion of the illuminations, see Meiss 1967, pp. 256–86. For full-scale reproduction of the manuscript, see Thomas 1971. The full-page illuminations by the Pseudo-Jacquemart, perhaps as many as seventeen, have been lost, and only the *Carrying of the Cross* survives (Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. RF 2835).
51. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 243, no. 931.
52. Durrieu 1922, pp. 1–10. See also Meiss 1967, pp. 107–12, and Meiss and Off 1971, p. 229.
53. Châtelet 1993, p. 28; Van Buren 1996, pp. 289, 294.
54. For a detailed study of Robinet's inventory of manuscripts, see Meiss and Off 1971, pp. 224–35.
55. The acquisition of the gems and a description of the bookmark and clasps are detailed in the duke's 1413 inventory: Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 243, no. 931. For a correct reading of this document, see Van Buren 1996, p. 297, n. 42.
56. The reproduction was commissioned by August de Bastard d'Estang.
57. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 253, no. 960.
58. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 606, 835–36.
59. Meiss and Off 1971, pp. 228, 233.
60. A high-quality facsimile of the *Belles Heures* was published in 2003 with an accompanying commentary volume (König 2003). This text was subsequently reissued in a fully illustrated volume (König 2004).
61. This date was proposed by Meiss 1974, pp. 103–4, and has since met with general acceptance.
62. In recent history only Herman Th. Colenbrander has seriously questioned the Limbourg brothers' authorship—specifically addressing the *Très Riches Heures*—in part because there appears to be little influence of Guelders and a great deal of Italy in the miniatures and in part because of the uncertainty of identity of the "très belle et notable Bible." Accepting, as he apparently does, however, the stylistic homogeneity of the three manuscripts, it remains a near certainty that the illuminations were executed by the Limbourg brothers. See Colenbrander 1991.
63. Meiss 1974, p. 104.
64. In a letter to Pierre Salmon, an agent of the duke's and a scholarly counselor to Charles VI, Jean de Berry, seeking to have a Sienese sculptor and master of inlay work brought to France, referred to this artist as an "ouvrier très solemnel" (very solemn or pompous worker). See Meiss 1967, p. 46.
65. See Meiss 1974, pp. 116, 245, 357, and Nijmegen 2005, pp. 374–75, no. 103.
66. The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Cod. reg. lat. 939.
67. Meiss 1974, pp. 116, 245.
68. Nijmegen 2005, p. 374, no. 103.
69. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. lat. 18014. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 224, no. 851: "Item, unes très belles Heures contenant pluseurs Heures et commemoracione de Dieu et de ses sains." A high-quality facsimile of this manuscript was published in 1988 and subsequently accompanied by a commentary volume (Avril, Dunlop, and Yapp 1989); see also Paris 2004a, p. 103, no. 41, and Nijmegen 2005, pp. 376–77, no. 104.
70. A high-quality facsimile of this manuscript was published in 1984 along with an accompanying commentary volume (Cazelles 1984).
71. Meiss 1974, p. 142. He reasons that work on the *Très Riches Heures* began shortly after the brothers completed the additions to the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, which must have occurred before January 1412 when Robinet received the manuscript.
72. Cazelles 1988, pp. 77–78.
73. See discussion above and note 17 above.

Structure and Summary of the Manuscript

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
1. Ex libris					
I	A–1	2 fols. = guard + 1	Ex libris of Jean Flamel		
2. Calendar Pages					
II	2–13	12 fols.	fol. 2	January: Youth and Old Age, back to back; Aquarius; the duke's arms twice	1v is blank.
			fol. 3	February: Man Warming His Hands; Pisces	
			fol. 4	March: Cultivating Vines; Aries	
			fol. 5	April: Courtier Smelling a Flower; Taurus	
			fol. 6	May: Falconing; Gemini	
			fol. 7	June: Scything Hay; Cancer	
			fol. 8	July: Harvesting Wheat; Leo	
			fol. 9	August: Threshing Wheat; Virgo	
			fol. 10	September: Treading Grapes; Libra	
			fol. 11	October: Sowing; Scorpio	
			fol. 12	November: Feeding Pigs; Sagittarius	
			fol. 13	December: Slaughtering a Boar; Capricorn; the duke's arms twice	

Abbreviated catchwords have been expanded.

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
3. The Story of Saint Catherine					
III	14–20	6 + 1 fols.; 14, blank on both sides, is attached by a tab to 20.	fol. 15 fol. 15v fol. 16 fol. 16v fol. 17 fol. 17v fol. 18 fol. 18v fol. 19 fol. 19v fol. 20	Saint Catherine in Her Study Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol Saint Catherine Confounds the Learned Saint Catherine Cast into Prison Saint Catherine Tied to a Column Saint Catherine Tended by Angels Empress Faustina Is Beheaded Angels Destroy the Wheels of Knives The Beheading of Porphyrius Catherine Is Beheaded Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to Mount Sinai	14, a blank guard, bears the offset of 13v; 20v is ruled and has a frame and border, but no text or illumination, the only such incomplete folio in the manuscript.
4. Readings from the Gospels and Prayers to the Virgin					
IV	21–29	7 + 2 fols.; 21/29 is a blank *bifolium*; 28 is a single sheet tabbed in.	fol. 21 fol. 21v fol. 22 fol. 23 fol. 24 fol. 24v fol. 26v fol. 29v	Blank with offset of two pilgrim's badges (?) Blank with faint offset of the missing illumination of Saint John the Evangelist Last five lines of the text of Saint John; ¼ miniature: Saint Matthew; beginning text for Saint Luke ¼ column miniature: Saint Luke and the beginning text of Saint Matthew ¼ column miniature: Saint Mark and the beginning text from his Gospel Beginning of prayers to the Virgin; *Obsecro te* *Aracoeli*: ¼ column miniature: The vision of the Virgin; ¼ column miniature: Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl; *O intemerata* Blank with offset of Annunciation	The missing half of 28 must have had most of the now wanting text of Saint John on the verso and the four beginning lines along with a full-page miniature of the Evangelist on the recto. A faint offset of the miniature appears on 21v and an offset of 30 appears on 29v, rather than on 28v. Therefore, 21/29 must have been added at an early date. The images of Matthew and Luke have been reversed in sequence, so the portraits do not match their respective texts.

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
5. The Hours of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Institution of the Great Litany					
V	30–37	8 fols.	fol. 30	Annunciation; duke's arms *(France ancien)* twice and inhabited border *Matins*	Ends with catchwords: *tuo sancto eius* (fol. 37v)
VI	38–45	8 fols.	fol. 41	¼ column miniature: Saints Ambrose and Augustine *Te Deum*	Ends with catchwords: *quia exultatum* (fol. 45v)
			fol. 42v	Visitation *Lauds*	
VII	46–53	8 fols.	fol. 48v	Nativity *Prime*	Ends with catchwords: *et spiritui sancto* (fol. 53v)
			fol. 52	Annunciation to the Shepherds *Terce*	
VIII	54–61	8 fols.	fol. 54v	Adoration of the Magi *Sext*	Ends with catchwords: *virgo singularis* (fol. 61v)
			fol. 57	Presentation in the Temple *Nones*	
			fol. 59v	Massacre of the Innocents *Vespers*	
IX	62–69	8 fols.	fol. 63	Flight into Egypt *Compline*	Ends with catchwords: *domine exaudi* (fol. 69v)
			fol. 66	¼ column miniature: An Angel Destroys the Enemies of David penitential psalms	
			fol. 66v	¼ column miniature: David Makes an Offering to God	
			fol. 67v	¼ column miniature: David Transfixed by Arrows	
			fol. 68v	¼ column miniature: David Is Rebuked by the Prophet Nathan	
X	70–79	10 fols.	fol. 70	¼ column miniature: David Beseeches God	73/74 is an inserted *bifolium* falling between the end of the penitential psalms and the beginning of the Litany. 78–79v are ruled, but otherwise blank.
			fol. 71v	¼ column miniature: David Beseeches God	
			fol. 72	¼ column miniature: David Flees from Absalom	
			fol. 73	Institution of the Great Litany	
			fol. 73v	Great Litany Procession	
			fol. 74	End of the Plague	
			fol. 74v	Procession of the Flagellants	
			fols. 75–77v	*Litany*	

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
6. Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit, Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and Seven Prayers Invoking the Incarnation and the Passion					
XI	80–87	8 fols.	fol. 80	Descent from the Cross *Hours of the Cross*	Under ultraviolet light remnants of a now-illegible catchword are visible. Plummer 1974b reads this as: *placebo* (fol. 87v), indicating that the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit were originally to be followed by the Office of the Dead.
			fol. 84	Pentecost *Hours of the Holy Spirit*	
XII	88–93	6 fols.	fol. 88	¼ column miniature: Assumption of the Virgin; ¼ miniature: A King and Attendants in Prayer *Prayers for the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*	93v is ruled, but otherwise blank.
			fol. 91	1 column miniature: Duke of Berry in Prayer	
			fol. 91v	¼ column miniature: Trinity; ¼ column miniature: Duchess of Berry in Prayer *Seven Prayers Invoking the Incarnation and the Passion*	
			fol. 93	1 column miniature: Adoration of the Cross	
7. Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and the Founding of the Carthusian Order					
XIII	94–98	4 + 1 fols. 98 is an inserted leaf.	fol. 94	Diocrès Expounding the Scriptures	98 is blank on both sides.
			fol. 94v	Diocrès Cries Out from His Coffin	
			fol. 95	Burial of Diocrès	
			fol. 95v	Saint Bruno Leaves Paris	
			fol. 96	Vision of Bishop Hugh	
			fol. 96v	Bishop Hugh Receiving Bruno and His Companions	
			fol. 97	Entering the Grande Chartreuse	
			fol. 97v	Grande Chartreuse	

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
8. Office of the Dead					
XIV	99–106	8 fols.	fol. 99	A Cemetery	Ends with catchword: *Confundantur* (fol. 106v)
XV	107–114	8 fols.			Ends with catchwords: *A peccato meo* (fol. 114v)
XVI	115–122	8 fols.			121v and 122 are ruled, but otherwise blank, with the exception of 122v, which ends with catchwords written in a minuscule and different hand from all of the above, which are written in a *bâtarde* script. *Domine labia* + (fol. 122v)
9. Hours of the Passion					
XVII	123–130	8 fols.	fol. 123 fol. 123v fol. 124	Agony in the Garden *Matins* Betrayal *Matins* Christ before Caiaphas *Matins*	Ends with catchwords: *dominum confitemur* (fol. 130v)
XVIII	131–138	8 fols.	fol. 131v fol. 132 fol. 135v fol. 136 fol. 138 fol. 138v	Mocking of Christ *Lauds* Flagellation *Lauds* Christ before Pilate *Prime* Pilate Offers to Release Christ *Prime* Pilate Washes His Hands *Terce* Carrying of the Cross *Terce*	Ends with catchword: *Nobis* (fol. 138v)
XIX	139–146	8 fols.	fol. 141v fol. 142 fol. 145 fol. 145v	Christ Nailed to the Cross *Sext* Christ Offered the Sop *Sext* Christ Pierced with a Lance *Nones* Death of Christ *Nones*	Ends with catchwords: *Non me de* (fol. 146v)

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
XX	147–154	8 fols.	fol. 149 fol. 149v fol. 152 fol. 152v	Deposition *Vespers* Lamentation *Vespers* Entombment *Compline* Soldiers at the Tomb *Compline*	Ends with catchwords visible under ultraviolet light in the same Gothic minuscule as 87v: *Domine labia* (fol. 154v). This indicates that the Hours of the Passion was originally to be followed by quire XI, Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, or another Hours now missing.

10. Prayers to the Holy Spirit and to the Holy Trinity, the Story of Heraclius and the True Cross, and the Suffrages

XXI	155–162	8 fols.	fol. 155 fol. 156 fol. 156v fol. 157 fol. 157v fol. 158 fol. 158v fol. 159 fol. 159v fol. 160 fol. 160v fol. 161 fol. 162 fol. 162v	¼ column miniature: Pentecost; ¼ miniature: Trinity *Prayers to the Holy Spirit and to the Holy Trinity* Heraclius Returns with the Cross Heraclius Enters Jerusalem Exultation of the Cross ¼ column: Virgin and Child Enthroned *Commemoration of the Virgin* ¼ column miniature: Saint Michael ¼ column miniature: Saint John the Baptist ¼ column miniature: Saint John the Evangelist ¼ column miniature: Saints Peter and Paul ¼ column miniature: Saint Andrew ¼ column miniature: Saint James the Greater Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew Martyrdom of Saint Stephen ¼ column: Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence	Ends with catchwords: *Et constituisti* (fol. 162v). The leaves with the Heraclius scenes are all ruled for double-column text pages.

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
XXII	163–170	8 fols.	fol. 163 fol. 163v fol. 164v fol. 165 fol. 165v fol. 166v fol. 167 fol. 168 fol. 169 fol. 170	¼ column miniature: Saint Vincent Cast to the Beasts ¼ column miniature: Saint Clement Cast into the Sea Saint Eustace Loses His Sons ¼ column miniature: Saint Christopher ¼ column miniature: Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian ¼ column miniature: Martyrdom of Saint Denis and His Companions Saint George Slaying the Dragon Saint Nicholas Saves Travelers at Sea Saint Martin and the Beggar Saint Anthony of Padua Stills a Storm	Ends with catchwords: *O stupor et* (fol. 170v)
XXIII	171–178	8 fols.	fol. 171 fol. 172 fol. 172v fol. 173 fol. 174 fol. 174v fol. 175 fol. 175v fol. 176v fol. 177 fol. 178 fol. 178v	Saint Francis Receives the Stigmata ¼ column miniature: Saint Ambrose ¼ column miniature: Saint Augustine Saint Louis before Damietta Saint Charlemagne ¼ column miniature: Saint Maurus ¼ column miniature: Saint Benedict ¼ column miniature: Saint Bernard ¼ column miniature: Saint Mary Magdalen ¼ column miniature: Saint Margaret Emerging from the Dragon ¼ column miniature: Saint Agnes Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and Eleven Thousand Virgins	Ends with catchwords: *tius. Domine* (fol. 178v)
XXIV	179–182	4 fols.	fol. 179 fol. 179v fol. 180 fol. 181	¼ column miniature: Saint Agatha ¼ column miniature: Beheading of Saint Lucy ¼ column miniature: Saint Cecilia ¼ column miniature: Saint Geneviève; the duke's arms four times	Ending rubric in magenta reads: *Secuntur misse. Et primo, de Nativitate Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi. Et primo ponitur Vita beati Jeronimi tota ystoriata* The repetition of "Et primo" suggests a second stage of change at the time the major picture cycles were added.

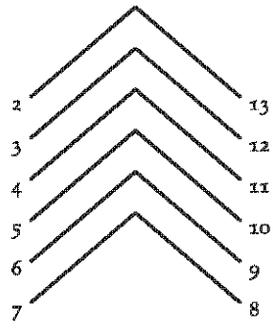
QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
11. The Story of Saint Jerome					
XXV	183–190	6 + 1 fols. 190 is an inserted leaf.	fol. 183	Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers	188 was omitted in the pagination. 190 is blank on both sides.
			fol. 183v	Saint Jerome's Dream	
			fol. 184	Saint Jerome Is Ordained as a Cardinal	
			fol. 184v	Saint Jerome in a Woman's Dress	
			fol. 185	Saint Jerome Leaves Constantinople	
			fol. 185v	Saint Jerome Contemplates the Holy Sepulchre	
			fol. 186	Saint Jerome Is Tempted by Dancing Girls	
			fol. 186v	Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw	
			fol. 187	The Lion Finds the Missing Ass	
			fol. 187v	Saint Jerome Translating the Bible	
			fol. 189	Death of Saint Jerome	
			fol. 189v	The Sick Attending the Funeral of Saint Jerome	
12. The Story of Saints Paul and Anthony					
XXVI	191–194	4 fols.	fol. 191	Saint Paul the Hermit Sees a Christian Tempted	
			fol. 191v	Saint Anthony Seeks the Hermitage of Saint Paul	
			fol. 192	Saint Anthony Receives Directions from a Satyr	
			fol. 192v	Saints Paul and Anthony Are Fed by a Dove	
			fol. 193	Saint Paul's Soul Is Transported to Heaven	
			fol. 193v	Lions Help Saint Anthony Bury Saint Paul	
			fol. 194	Saint Anthony Is Attacked by Devils	
			fol. 194v	The Death of Saint Anthony	

QUIRE	FOLIOS	STRUCTURE	TEXTS AND MINIATURES		NOTES
13. Masses					
XXVII	195–202	8 fols.	fol. 195 fol. 198 fol. 199v fol. 202	¼ column miniature: Nativity *Christmas Mass* ¼ column miniature: Resurrection *Easter Mass* ¼ column miniature: Ascension *Mass for the Ascension* ¼ column miniature: Celebration of Pentecost Mass *Whitsunday Mass*	Ends with catchwords: *circa cirenem* (fol. 202v)
XXVIII	203–210	8 fols.	fol. 204 fol. 205v fol. 207v fol. 209	¼ column miniature: *Throne of Grace* *Mass for the Trinity* ¼ column miniature: Elevation of the Host *Mass for Corpus Christi* ¼ column miniature: Exultation of the Cross *Mass for the Exultation of the Cross* ¼ column miniature: Madonna and Child with Two Angels *Mass of the Virgin*	Ends with catchwords in the same hand as 122v: *antra deserti* (fol. 210v). This was added at the end of production, possibly by the binder, after the insertion of the Saint John cycle.
14. The Story of Saint John the Baptist and Masses					
XXIX	211–218	8 fols.	fol. 211 fol. 211v fol. 212 fol. 212v fol. 215 fol. 215v fol. 218	John the Baptist in the Wilderness Saint John Baptizes Christ Saint John the Baptist Is Beheaded Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist *Mass for the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist* Death of Simon Magus; the duke's arms *(France ancien)* *Mass for Saints Peter and Paul* Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul *Mass for Saints Peter and Paul* *Heavenly Hosts* *Mass for All Saints*	211 and 212 are ruled for double-column text pages. Ends with catchword: *quadragnita* (fol. 218v)
XXX	219–222	4 fols.	fol. 221	Mass for All Souls *Mass for All Souls*	
15. Prayers for Travelers					
XXXI	223–225	2 + 1 fols. 223 is an inserted leaf.	fol. 223v	The Duke on a Journey *Prayers for Travelers*	223 is blank on the recto. 225v is blank.

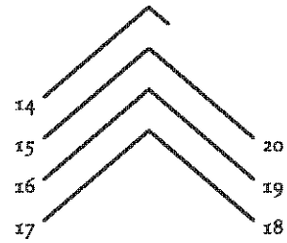
Collation

I
Ex Libris

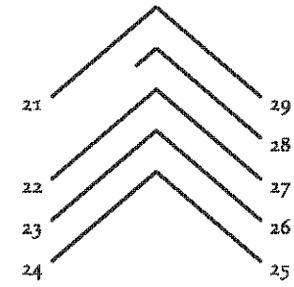
II
Calendar Pages



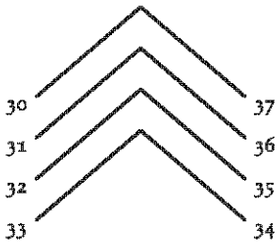
III
Saint Catherine



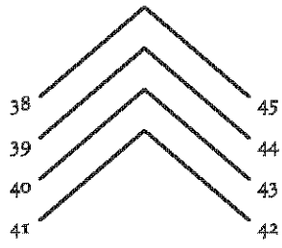
IV
Gospel Readings and Prayers



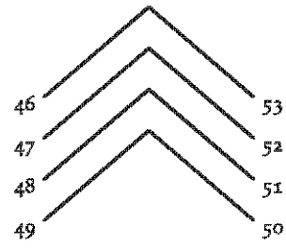
V
Hours of the Virgin



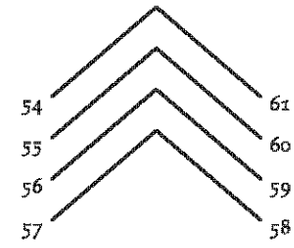
VI
Hours of the Virgin



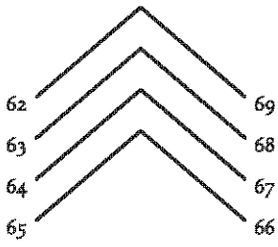
VII
Hours of the Virgin



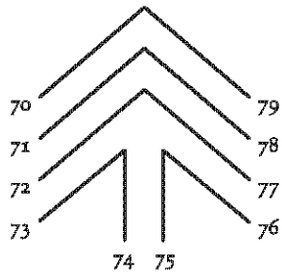
VIII
Hours of the Virgin



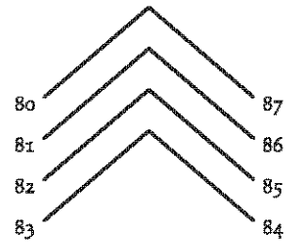
IX
Hours of the Virgin
Penitential Psalms



X
Penitential Psalms
Great Litany



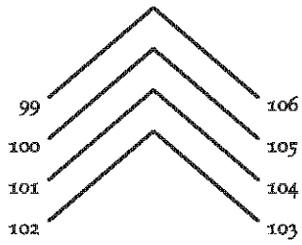
XI
Hours of the Cross
Hours of the Holy Spirit



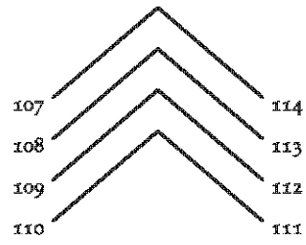
XII
Fifteen Joys of the Virgin

XIII
Raymond Diocrès and Saint Bruno

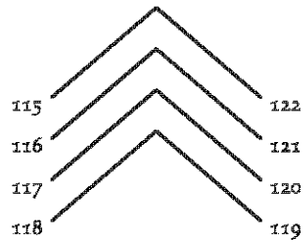
XIV
Office of the Dead



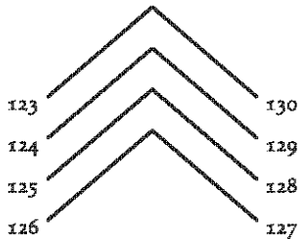
XV
Office of the Dead



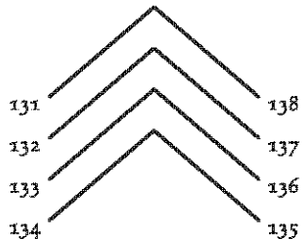
XVI
Office of the Dead



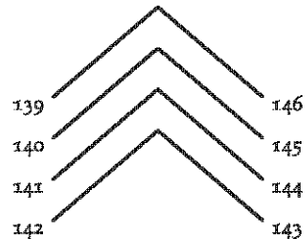
XVII
Hours of the Passion



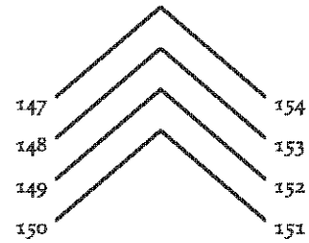
XVIII
Hours of the Passion



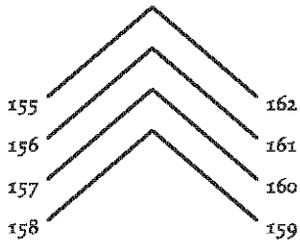
XIX
Hours of the Passion



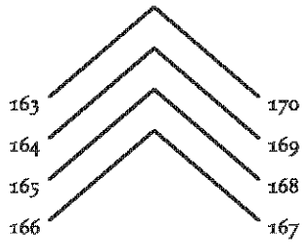
XX
Hours of the Passion



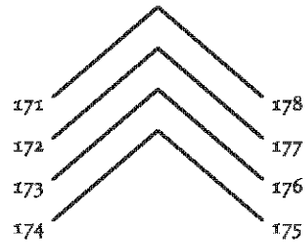
XXI
Heraclius
Suffrages



XXII
Suffrages

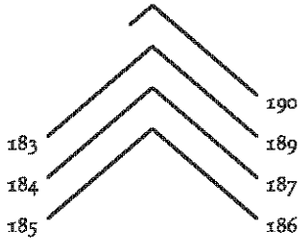


XXIII
Suffrages



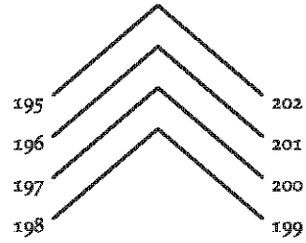
XXIV
Suffrages

XXV
Saint Jerome

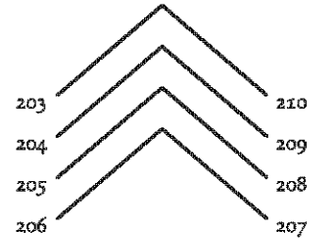


XXVI
Saints Paul and Anthony

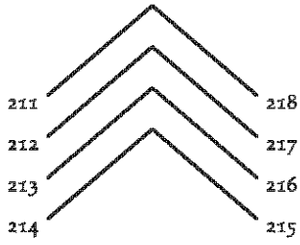
XXVII
Masses



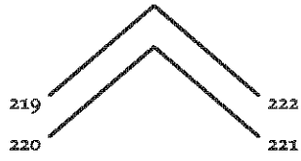
XXVIII
Masses



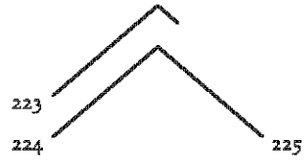
XXIX
Saint John the Baptist
Masses



XXX
Masses



XXXI
Prayers for Travelers



The collation chart is based on Meiss 1974, pp. 331–32, and Plummer 1974, pp. 334–36, and on observations by Timothy B. Husband.

Page Organization and Decoration

Paris, the seat of the Valois court and of an important bishopric, the base for a growing bureaucracy, and the locus of one of Europe's preeminent universities, was until the early fifteenth century the uncontested center of commercial book production in northern Europe.[1] Those involved with production and trade of books were located on the Île de la Cité. They were concentrated on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame leading into the parvis before the great cathedral and on the rue des Écrivains (the modern rue de la Parcheminerie), on the Left Bank running parallel to the south flank of Saint-Séverin. These included parchment makers and sellers, scribes, illuminators, decorators, bookbinders, and *libraires*, who were book contractors and sellers, key players in the trade.[2] The court, as its accounts show, along with anyone else who could afford books, engaged directly with these métiers. By the reign of Charles V (r. 1364–80), however, members of the industry appear for the first time in the records as in the service of the king: *parcheminiers du roi* (parchment makers), *enlumineurs du roi* (illuminators, including Jean Pucelle and Jean Le Noir), and *écrivains du roi* (scribes), some of whom were also Paris *libraires* authorized by the university, and who clearly had responsibilities and interests beyond those attendant to the court.[3] The *écrivains du roi* were certainly more than just scribes and complied with the king's wishes in regard to books, whether copying, buying, writing, or contracting for them.[4] As these were all functions that were essentially provided by *libraires*, Charles's motivation for creating the position of *écrivains du roi* may have been to project the importance he placed on his books and library and to equate this function with established ones such as *peintre du roi* (painter of the king).[5]

Fol. 101v (detail)

A *libraire* by the name of Regnault du Montet arrived in Paris about 1398 and lived in the rue des Écrivains. In that year or in early 1399 he sold a *Grandes chroniques* to Edward, earl of Rutland and cousin of Richard II, for sixty *écus* and traveled to England to collect the money.[6] Shortly after his return he entered the employ of Jean de Berry and remained his preferred *libraire* until the duke's death in 1416. Regnault appears in the inventories thirteen times, supplying more than one volume on several occasions.[7] All the manuscript transactions carried out by Regnault for Jean de Berry appear to have been purchases (or sales) of existing volumes with one exception: in 1402 he arranged to have a copy made of a mid-fourteenth-century *Histoire ancienne jusqu'a César* already in the duke's possession.[8] The names of three other *libraires* appear in the documents, and two of these, mentioned only once each, were *écrivains* and therefore not only were booksellers but also could have been involved in manuscript production.[9] One of these, Jehan le Moustardier, died in 1404, and the other, Fremin de Revelle, who died in 1409, is the only documented *libraire* who could have had any involvement with the *Belles Heures*. In other words, it appears that Jean de Berry used the *libraires* primarily as purveyors and that the execution of the *Belles Heures* was managed through his household or perhaps through the Limbourgs themselves. No evidence remains in the written record that *libraires* facilitated the production of the duke's manuscripts illuminated by the Limbourg brothers.

The Vellum

The making of a manuscript required the preparation of the vellum, the construction of the gatherings or quires; the pricking and ruling of the quires; the writing of the text; the execution of the secondary decoration including historiated initials, line enders, and borders; the painting of illuminations; and finally the binding.[10] Division of labor meant that numerous skilled workers were involved and that to create a luxury book perfection was required in every facet. The 224 folios, or leaves, in the *Belles Heures* are made of the highest-quality calfskin so skillfully prepared that resultant translucency allows the text and decoration to be visible from the reverse side.[11] As this could obscure the design of the leaf being viewed, decoration and images, wherever possible, were laid down back to back. Each *bifolio* appears to have been cut from the center of the skin, as there are no sections near the head or limbs of the animal. The flaws are thus negligible, usually confined to

Fig. 51. Fol. 166 (showing flaw in vellum)

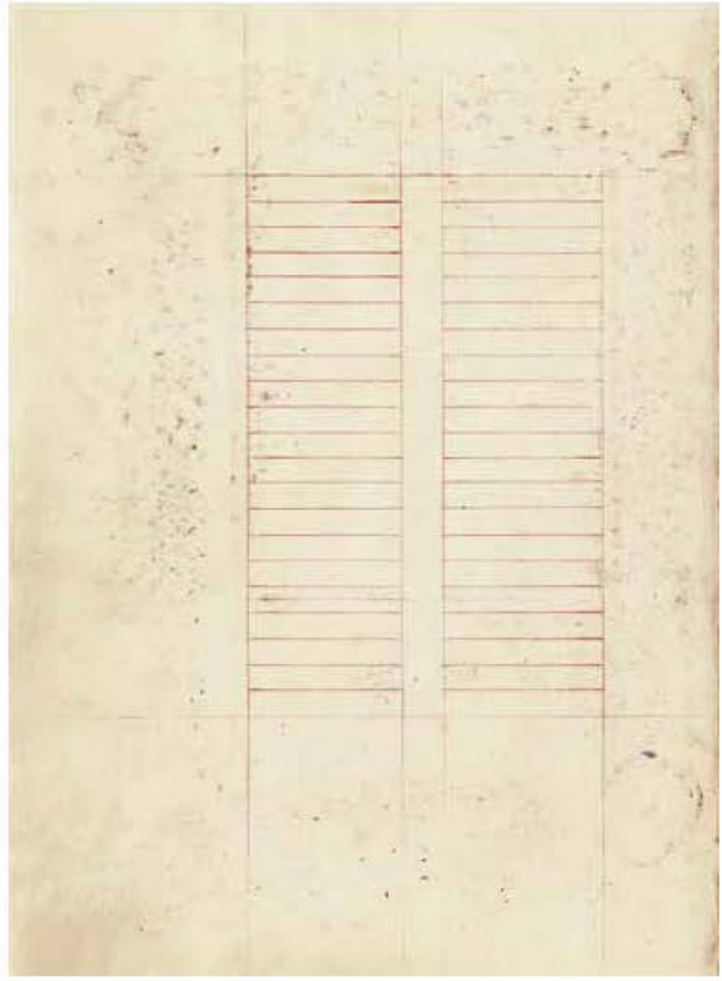


Fig. 52. Fol. 79 (page ruled for text but left blank)

excessive thinning or irregularities in the skin such as that found on the right edge of fol. 106 or in the upper right margin of fol. 166 (fig. 51). The vellum is exceptionally pliant and lies flat with minimal distortion in the gutter. Cockling is rare and is most evident at the beginning of the manuscript, notably fols. 6 and 8 in the Calendar pages. The hair side is remarkably smooth, and the follicles are often barely noticeable. The vellum has been somewhat discolored generally in the lower outer corners by page turning, most noticeably in the Calendar pages, which were frequently consulted. There are occasional ink smears, the worst being on fol. 61. The latter half of quire XXIX apparently suffered water damage particularly along the upper margin, with fol. 218 being the most affected.

The Rulings

There are three systems of ruling the leaves, which were executed throughout in a fine carmine red line.[25] The Calendar pages each have a ruled field measuring 105 × 68 millimeters and comprising seventeen lines in four columns of different widths. The perimeter lines, as customary, extend well into or beyond the borders. The text pages each have a lined field of 132 × 86 millimeters and two columns, each 38 millimeters wide with twenty-one lines and separated by a center margin of 11 millimeters in width (fig. 52). The full-page miniatures in the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Passion, the Hours of the Dead, the Adoration of the Cross, the Suffrages, and the last six illuminations in the manuscript are ruled as text pages in two columns, while those of the picture cycle insertions are in the full width but with only four lines of text below the blank picture field. All the full-page miniatures are about 105 ± 2 × 86 ± 1 millimeters measuring to the outside of the inner gold frame. A line height of 7 millimeters is maintained throughout. The rulings of the text pages and the full-page illuminations line up precisely from folio to folio. The rulings are executed with such consistency throughout that a single lineator is indicated. Prickings at specific intervals across the *bifolio* aided the lineator in structuring the rulings and allowed him to transfer the intervals from recto to verso and from *bifolio* to *bifolio* without having to remeasure leaf by leaf. This system also assured the

precision of rulings from quire to quire. As the prickings were at the outer margins of the *bifolio*, many have been trimmed away in the course of rebinding, but a number are still evident.[13]

While all the full-page illuminations are nearly identical in size, excepting those with an extension of the picture field in the upper margin, that is, seventeen lines in height, the partial-page illuminations vary in size. The one-column rectangular illuminations are, as a rule, eleven lines high if they are placed at or near the top of the column and ten lines high if they are placed at or near the bottom of the column. The most numerous, by far, are the partial-page illuminations of these formats. Seven of the eleven-line format miniatures have a semicircular extension into the margin (see, for example, *Saint Michael*, fol. 158, p. 191). Two miniatures are nineteen lines high, nearly filling one column (the *Adoration of the Cross*, fol. 93, for example; see p. 153). The placement of the partial-page illuminations had not been established when the pages were ruled, as all are painted over the rulings. This is also the case with a number of the full-page illuminations ruled for two column texts, although many more were ruled with the verticals delineating the central gutter but with no horizontals above the bottom five. Like the perimeter lines, the central verticals also extend through the top and bottom borders. In the case of the first three illuminations of the Saint John cycle (fols. 211–12) the page was originally ruled in this fashion but the bottom five lines were connected in the middle to allow a single full-width column of text.

The *bifolia*, excepting those of the inserted picture cycles, were ruled without regard to the placement of the full-page illuminations, which required that the Limbourgs paint over the lines. It is clear, however, that they did not simply ignore the lines, but on occasion, used both the verticals and the horizontals in constructing their compositions.[14] In *Saint Anthony of Padua Stills a Storm*, for example, the left center margin line defines the right edge of the saint's pulpit, and horizontal lines determine the placement of the top edge and crossbars of the facing side (fig. 53). In the *Pentecost* (fol. 84, p. 145), the center margin lines establish the width of the central apsidal blind arcade and horizontal lines are used for the heights of the *transcena* panels and of the acanthus insets along with the upper line of the entablature. And in the *Mass for All Souls* the interior edge of the chapel portal is delineated by the right center margin line (fol. 221, p. 261). Thus the rulings assisted primarily in constructing symmetrical architectural forms, and as landscapes or ambiguous spaces were preferred, they were of limited value in the *Belles Heures*. In the *Très Riches Heures*, however, they were used with greater utility in the more complex architectural scenes such as the *Procession of Saint Gregory* and the *Road to Calvary*. By using these linear increments, the Limbourg brothers could establish a proportional harmony between the text and image. The fact that the text rulings within the picture field were eliminated in the inserted picture cycles, presumably in consultation with the Limbourg brothers, suggests, however, that the rulings played a minimal role in the process.

Fig. 53. *Saint Anthony of Padua Stills a Storm*, fol. 170 (detail)

The Script and Rubrics

The entire text is written in a fine Gothic script—*textura formata*—in iron gall, which with time has altered to blackish brown, umber, and brownish hues.[15] The main text is about 4 millimeters in height excluding the ascenders and descenders. The antiphons, versicles, responses, capitula, and the like are in a smaller, lighter script of about 3 millimeters in height. The appearance of the text is sufficiently uniform throughout to suggest a single scribe or scribes of exceedingly similar hands. The script is also remarkably close to that of the principal scribe in the *Très Riches Heures*, with the height of the line increased there by 1.5 millimeters and the script enlarged proportionately. While an attribution cannot be made with any certainty, it is interesting to note that the duke had in his employ the aforementioned *escripvain* Fremin de Revelle (d. 1409) and in 1413 an *escripvain de forme* by the name of Yvonnet Leduc.[16] The rubrics are in an orange-red and occasionally in ultramarine blue, such as in the *Seven Prayers*

Fig. 54. Fol. 56v (detail, photomicrograph of marginal *IX*)

Fig. 55. Fol. 153v (detail, photomicrograph of marginal *y*)

Invoking the Incarnation and the Passion. The same ultramarine alternating with magenta appears in the four-line texts that accompany the picture cycles as well as in the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*. The same magenta, likewise, makes a rare appearance in rubrics, notably that which introduces the Jerome cycle (fol. 182v). In the Calendar pages the ultramarine alternates with a paler version of the magenta. Throughout, the script is centered evenly between the rulings and, unlike the decorated initials, never abuts them, leaving about one millimeter above and below.

There are a number of marginal notations that were intended as aids to the scribe providing indications where specific texts should begin. Many of these that fall in the inner margins have been inked, painted, or gilded over; others are in the gutter and therefore not visible in the bound manuscript and came to light only when the manuscript was disbound. On fol. 56v in the Hours of the Virgin, for example, *IX* appears in the gutter adjacent to the ultramarine rubric *Ad. IX de nra dna*, thus indicating to the rubricator where to signal the beginning of Nones (fig. 54). On fol. 72v *cxliii* indicates the continuation of Psalm 143, and on fol. 153v the letter *y* for *ymnus* indicates where the beginning of a hymn should

Fig. 56. Fol. 61v, end of quire VIII, and fol. 62, beginning of quire IX.

be rubricated (fig. 55). These notations are in a hand that is difficult to decipher and that appears nowhere else in the manuscript. Further notations in yet another script come in the form of catchwords, here written in Gothic *bâtarde* script, that appear in the bottom margin at the end of a quire and indicate the words that begin the next quire. For example, in Vespers of the Hours of the Virgin, in quire VIII, which ends on fol. 61v, *virgo singularis* appears in the bottom margin, and these are indeed the first two words of fol. 62 (fig. 56). Catchwords were for the benefit not of the scribe but of the binder in the ordering of the quires. As will be discussed later, the catchwords, or lack of them, help us understand the order of the manuscript as it was originally planned and how this plan was altered.

The abbreviations that allowed the text to be fitted into the allotted space or obviated the spelling out of oft-repeated words or phrases (*dñe ihū xp̃te* stood for *Domine Ihesu Christe*, Lord Jesus Christ, for example) appear in the normal forms and with the usual frequency. Caught errors were usually stricken. In the text under *Christ before Caiaphas* (fol. 124, p. 171), for instance, the letter *n* at the end of line three in the second column is stricken out and appears in the beginning of the next line as *"n̄ro"* (*nostro*). And there are occasional orthographic errors which, further indicating that the same scribe worked on both manuscripts, are frequently repeated in like manner in the *Très Riches Heures*. A typical example, and there are many of them, is found in Matins of the Hours of the Virgin toward the end of Psalm 44: the text should read "Afferuntur cum laetitia et exsultatione . . ." (They shall be brought with gladness and rejoicing . . .), but in both the *Belles Heures* and the *Très Riches Heures* it reads erroneously "Afferentur in letiticia exultacione . . ." The repetition of many such errors from one manuscript to the next suggests that the texts for both Books of Hours were copied from a common flawed source.[17]

Textual Decoration

Throughout the entire manuscript the first letter or initial of each passage—whether a substantial text or a mere phrase or ejaculation—is decorated, totaling about two thousand in all. The large decorated letters that generally begin a significant passage are two lines high and occasionally three, in rare instances even higher, such as the letter *P* on fol. 105, which is more than five lines high (fig. 57). The decoration is executed, almost without exception, in blue, red, and white paint and gold leaf. In general, the painted letter is set on a gold ground, although those of three lines in height, in the Hours of the Passion, for example, are on a painted ground with a gold-leaf frame. Only the picture cycles are without decorated initials, suggesting that these might have been viewed as visual distractions from the full-page illuminations and the simplified page composition. The bodies of the letters are usually filled with arabesques, rinceaux, geometric patterns, and the like, while the interiors are filled with leaf and tendril ornaments. The capital letter *L* on fol. 101v incorporates the decorated initials of the four tangential lines creating a carpetlike mass of ornament (see illustration, p. 59). Line enders fill the ruled lines within the body of text not otherwise occupied, excepting the blank lines following the conclusion of text on a given folio. Like most of the initials, the line enders rely on a palette of white, blue, and red on a gold ground and are enlivened with meanders of leaves, vines, tendrils, and a variety of interlace and geometric patterns that enhance the linear format. Generally, all the space at the end of the line was filled; if the remaining space was too small for a band, then a single element, such as a floral or geometric form, was used. Whereas the basic decorative vocabulary for both the initials and line enders is relatively limited, they are employed with great variety. The consistency of the work, however, is such that these elements must have been executed by the same hand or several working in an identical mode throughout the entire manuscript. This lavish decoration greatly enhanced the text pages, relieving the dense calligraphy with islands of intricate patterns on glimmering burnished gold, no two the same, creating a visual vibrancy and ornamental richness unique to each.

The Borders

Three types of borders appear in the *Belles Heures*, and two of these were executed in variant forms. The first, type I, appears only in the *Annunciation* on fol. 30 (fig. 58). Lush and inhabited, this border consists of boughs of acanthus-like foliage against an ultramarine ground arranged in a series of wreaths that encircle prophets holding scrolls alternating with musical angels. The

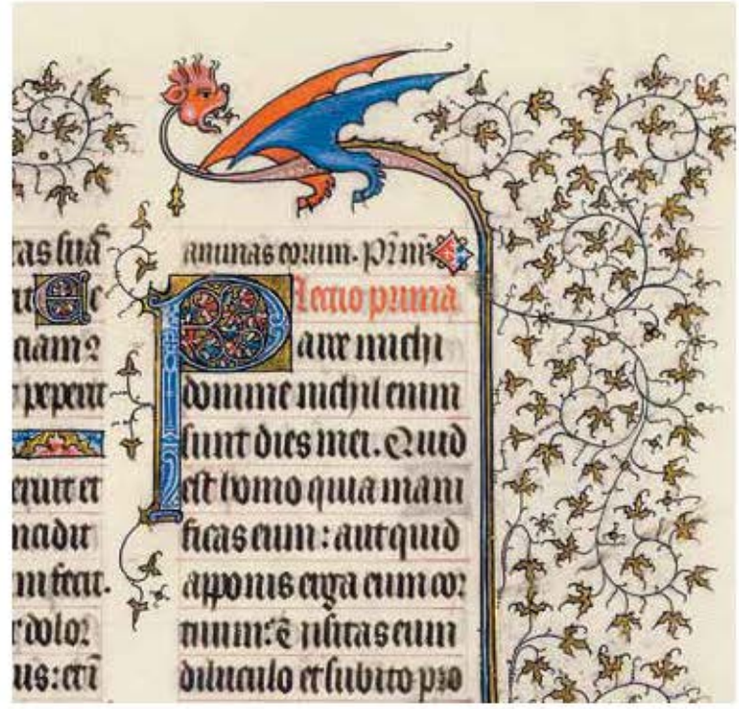


Fig. 57. Fol. 105 (text page with large initial *P*, detail)

Fig. 58. *The Annunciation*, fol. 30 (type I border)

Fig. 59. Master of the Brussels Initials (Bolognese, worked in Paris). *Annunciation*. Book of Hours, ca. 1406–7. Parchment, 3⅛ × 2⅝ in. (7.23 × 1.6 cm). The British Library, London (Add. ms. 29433, fol. 20, detail)

boughs are laden with seedpods, buds, and fruit. Putti gambol in the interstices, while bears cavort and, at the left, swans glide across golden pools. This lush and vibrant border is much influenced by Italianate decoration, and one can point, in particular, to the work of the Master of the Brussels Initials—a Bolognese artist whose work was certainly known to the duke of Berry—specifically a Book of Hours, perhaps made for the duke's great-nephew Louis, duke of Guyenne, about 1406–7 and now in London (fig. 59).[28] The whole in the *Belles Heures* is enclosed by a narrow gold band. The borders on all four sides are of different widths: that on the left is the narrowest, followed by the top and then the bottom, whereas that on the right is the widest. A lozenge in the form of a lobed square on point at the right and bottom grounds a shield emblazoned with *France ancien*, a gold pavé of fleurs-de-lis, the arms of the duke. The impression is one of richness and decorative appeal, which contrasts in tone with the stoic simplicity and resolute calm of the central scene.

This, however, was apparently not meant to be the sole appearance of this type of border in the manuscript. The missing portrait of Saint John the Evangelist, which, as a matter of convention, introduced the Gospel Readings and would have fallen between fols. 21 and 22—that is, the missing half of fol. 28 (see "Collation" in this volume)—has left a faint offset on fol. 21v. When John Plummer examined this offset under ultraviolet light in 1972 during the rebinding of the manuscript, he was able to see the general layout of the page, enough to adduce a rinceaux border, and the clear outlines of a lozenge with the duke's arms *France ancien*. Unfortunately this evidence is no longer visible, but remnants of pigment, the photograph taken at that time under ultraviolet light, and Plummer's reconstruction based on it support his conclusion that the missing page comprised an illumination of *Saint John on Patmos* and a border very similar to that of the *Annunciation*.[29] Whereas an elaborate border for the opening illumination in the Hours of the Virgin may seem appropriate for the core text of a Book of Hours, the Limbourg brothers abandoned this type of

Fig. 60. Limbourg brothers. *Annunciation. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 26)

border not for diminished ambition, but more probably, for aesthetic reasons. As the manuscript progressed, borders became simplified, thus focusing more attention on the central image. Indeed, the Limbourg brothers abandoned borders altogether—although not all marginal decoration—in the *Très Riches Heures*, particularly in the largest images, which were viewed more as independent paintings than conventional manuscript illuminations (see fig. 60).[28]

The type II borders consist of a band or ribbon of ornament that encloses the image and text on both sides and the bottom. The palette of these frames, like the decorated initials and line enders, is limited to white, blue, an orange-red, and a paler rose-red enhanced with liberal use of gold leaf. Green is introduced only twice, both in the Hours of the Virgin, the *Adoration* (fol. 54v, p. 122) and the *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 61). The patterns of these ornamental frames are based on an inventive variety of interlace or foliate patterns; in all, stems emerge from both ends of the verticals and morph into curving meanders of bryony vines with leaves in blue, red, and gold, and tendrils in a fine inked line, occasionally strewn with flowers, surrounding text, image, and frame on all sides. The vines are usually executed in blue with a thin white center line or blue outlined in thin black lines. Only in the frame of *Saint George* (fol. 167, p. 201) is there no organic connection between the frame pattern and the bryony vine, leaf, and tendril surrounds. The border of the *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 61) is singular in having an inscribed scroll spiraling around

Fig. 61. *The Presentation in the Temple*, fol. 57 (detail, text and type II border inscribed with text from Psalm 50)

Fig. 62. *Death of Simon Magus*, fol. 225 (detail, text and type II border with "threaded pots" and the duke's arms supported by a swan)

Fig. 63. *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*, fol. 209 (detail, type II border with "threaded pots and foliage")

Fig. 64. Virgil Master Workshop. "Threaded pots" border in Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits memorables*, completed in 1401. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 282, fol. 71)

the central stem with the opening verses of penitential psalm 50: "Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum, dele iniquitatem meam. Amplius lava me ab iniquitate . . ." (Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy, and according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my iniquity. Wash me even more from my iniquity . . .).

The outer fields of type II borders are always the widest and the inner the narrowest; the bottom field is either of equal width or somewhat wider than the top. With two exceptions, mentioned below, the patterns of the decorative frames never repeat. All are found with full-page illuminations excepting four partial-page miniatures: fol. 66, *An Angel Destroys the Enemies of David* (p. 131), introducing the seventh penitential psalm; and those illustrating the Masses for the Pentecost (fol. 202, p. 245), the Trinity (fol. 204, p. 247), and the Virgin (fol. 209, p. 251). There are twenty-six type II borders in all: the Calendar pages for January and December (fols. 2 and 13); *Saint Catherine in Her Study* (fol. 15); the remaining seven illuminations in the Hours of the Virgin; the aforementioned penitential psalm; the Hours of the Cross (fol. 80), the Holy Spirit (fol. 84), and the Dead (fol. 99); the *Agony in the Garden* (fol. 123) opening the Hours of the Passion; the *Exaltation of the Cross* (fol. 157); Saints George (fol. 167), Francis (fol. 171), and Charlemagne (fol. 174) in the Suffrages; the opening illumination of the Saints Paul and Anthony cycle (fol. 191); the Masses for Christmas (fol. 195), Pentecost (fol. 202), Trinity (fol. 204), and the Virgin (fol. 209); *John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (fol. 211); and the *Death of Simon Magus* (fol. 215). Medallions with seraphim are incorporated in the border of the *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 63, p. 129) and with half-length mourning angels in the *Descent from the Cross* (fol. 80, p. 143). The duke's heraldic arms appear three times in type II borders: the Calendar pages for January and December with swans as shield supports (fol. 2, p. 83, and fol. 13, p. 93) and in the *Death of Simon Magus* (fig. 62). The arms in the latter, also supported by a swan, are *France ancien*, or the "old" type, that is, not used by the duke after about 1405, while those in the Calendar pages are of the "new" type.

Two type II borders repeat twice: one pattern is formed by pots with foliage linked together by a single common stalk and appears with the *Pentecost* (fol. 84, p. 145) and the other with the *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (fig. 63). A variant and simplified version of this "threaded pot" design is found with the opening illumination of the Saints Paul and Anthony cycle (fol. 191, p. 231) and again with the *Death of Simon Magus* (see fig. 62). This design is found in a nearly identical form in a French translation of Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits memorables*, completed by the Virgil Master Workshop for the duke of Berry in 1401 (fig. 64).[22] The same manuscript has another border consisting of a leafy garland spiraling around a thin, straight stem (fig. 65), which reappears in that of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 66). The same framing design appears in the border of another Parisian manuscript produced by the Coronation Workshop in 1402 and now in the Morgan Library and Museum (fig. 67). Therefore, the type II borders can be directly connected with Parisian workshop production in the years just preceding the production of the *Belles Heures*, and indeed, collaborators executing the borders in the *Belles Heures* may well have been drawn from these workshops.

The type III frames are the most numerous in the *Belles Heures*. Distinguished by restraint and elegant simplicity of design, these borders have a thin double-band frame that encloses the text and image field on both sides and bottom (see fig. 56). The lower corners are bound by an interlace knot within a quatrefoil of gold ground. In the text pages, the knot can be replaced by a simple indentation, loop, or circular form with foliate fill (see fig. 68). Occasionally a variant knot appears toward the center of the outer vertical, and less frequently this outer vertical even merges with a decorated initial (fol. 102v, fig. 72). Similar elaborations frequently appear at the top of this vertical. On many pages, a long-necked, red and blue dragon grotesque issues forth from the upper end of a vertical (see figs. 56, 68, and 69). In all instances a pair of single black lines emerges from the top of one or both of the verticals, as well as from the knots, becoming bryony vines bearing fine-lined tendrils and outlined gold leaves. Dense S-curved meanders, symmetrically arranged and never overlapping, complete the surrounding border. The widths of the bryony borders vary, but the outer band is always the widest and the inner always the narrowest; the upper and lower are sometimes of equal width or one slightly narrower than the other. In order to avoid obscuring delicate detail owing to the translucency of the vellum,

Fig. 65. Virgil Master Workshop. "Garland spiral" border in Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits memorables*, completed in 1401. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 282, fol. 173, detail)

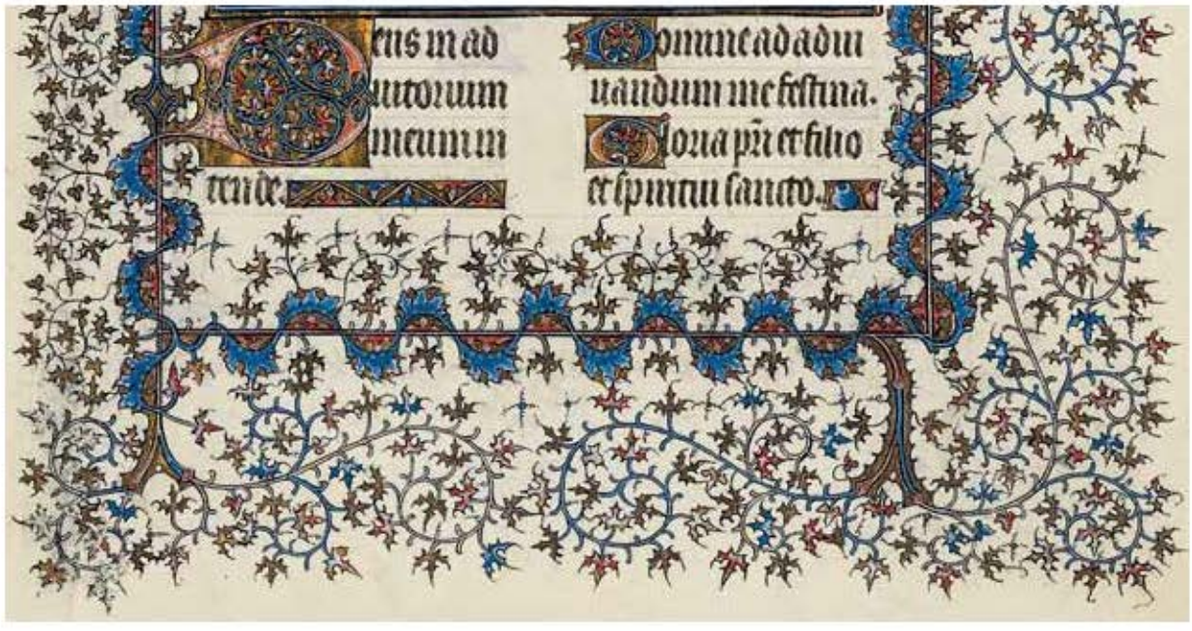


Fig. 66. *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, fol. 52 (detail, type II border with "garland spiral")

the design of the recto border is always duplicated in mirror image on the verso. Thus, all elements—leaves, bands, knots, and beasts—are superimposed and therefore cannot be seen through the opposite side of the folio, as the decorated initials and line enders can. This treatment greatly enhances the clarity and elegance of the border design.

There are several variations of the type III border. In the Calendar pages medallions composed of squares over quatrefoils are centered above the text and on the lower band of the frame and provide a ground for the activities of the month and the zodiacal symbols respectively (fig. 70). Even though the design of the borders anticipated the addition of medallions, these nonetheless often overlap the leaves and tendrils. In some instances, either blue and pale pink or orange red and deep blue blossoms have been introduced in the foliate meanders. Throughout the Gospel Readings, voids have been introduced in the leafy meanders, disrupting

Fig. 67. Coronation Workshop. Book of Hours, 1402. 5½ × 4 in. (14 × 10 cm). The Morgan Library and Museum, New York (M.515, fol. 95, detail, "garland spiral" border)

the symmetrical design and giving the overall page the appearance of an unrecognizable letter (fol. 25, fig. 71). Such an unusual shape for the bryony border was needed to accommodate an inserted figure, like the angel known only from an underdrawing on fol. 27, discussed by Margaret Lawson in this volume (see pp. 324–41 and fig. 199). In the Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, the leafy borders are dotted with four-petaled orange and blue flowers with gold centers, an elaboration that reappears in some of the pages in the Suffrages (fol. 180, p. 214). In the Office of the Dead, the meanders loop out in the corners providing a seraphlike appearance, and the leaves are relatively large and airily spaced (see fig. 68). In the Saint Catherine cycle, the outer edges of the bryony field are relatively straight, while the leaves are much denser and more compactly arranged; the gold leaf is consequently more dense, literally enframing the images in gold (fig. 73).

Fig. 68. Fol. 104 (detail, type III border by the first master with corner loop on text page)

Fig. 69. Fol. 176 (detail, type III border by the second master with corner knot on text page)

Fig. 70. *Aprīl*, fol. 5 (detail, medallion with courtier smelling a flower and type III border by first master)

Fig. 71. Fol. 25 (text page with indented type II border)

At least two different hands provided the secondary decoration in the *Belles Heures*. The bulk of the borders appears to have been done by one master producing both type II and type III borders in all their variant forms. See fig. 68 for an example of this type III border. A second and more refined hand appears to have become active later in the production of the manuscript and executed mostly, but not exclusively, type III borders (fig. 69).[22] His work can be identified by tighter, denser patterns of bryony meander; an almost signature drawing of tendrils consisting of a single curl with a fine corkscrew attached, all penned with remarkable consistency; saw-toothed scalloped edges around the corner knots of the banded text frames; and the termini of the frame verticals are punctuated by a signature white loop with a red fill centered by a white dot or tiny circle (see fig. 73). He can also be recognized by his treatment of the blue and red winged dragon grotesques that often appear in the upper border. These creatures typically have a gold band running along their back with a tight saw-toothed scalloping in black outline, whereas the same pattern, smaller and in reverse, is painted in a fine white line on the dusky rose or blue body often accompanied by a line of minute circles in white. The features are highly animated and drawn with great finesse, vivacity, and character (see fig. 69). The work of this second and more skilled decorator appears mostly, but not exclusively, in the later quires including XXI, XXIII, XXVIII–XXXI as well as in all the inserted picture cycles except Diocrès-Bruno and in the Calendar pages. His work can also be found in at least eleven other manuscripts, two of which, the aforementioned Valerius Maximus, *Faits et dits memorables*, and Flavius Josephus, *Les antiquités judaïques*, were made for Jean de Berry, all dating from about 1401 to the duke's death.[23] The superior skills of this unidentified decora-

Fig. 73. *The Beheading of Porphyrius*, fol. 19 (detail, right side type III border by the second master)

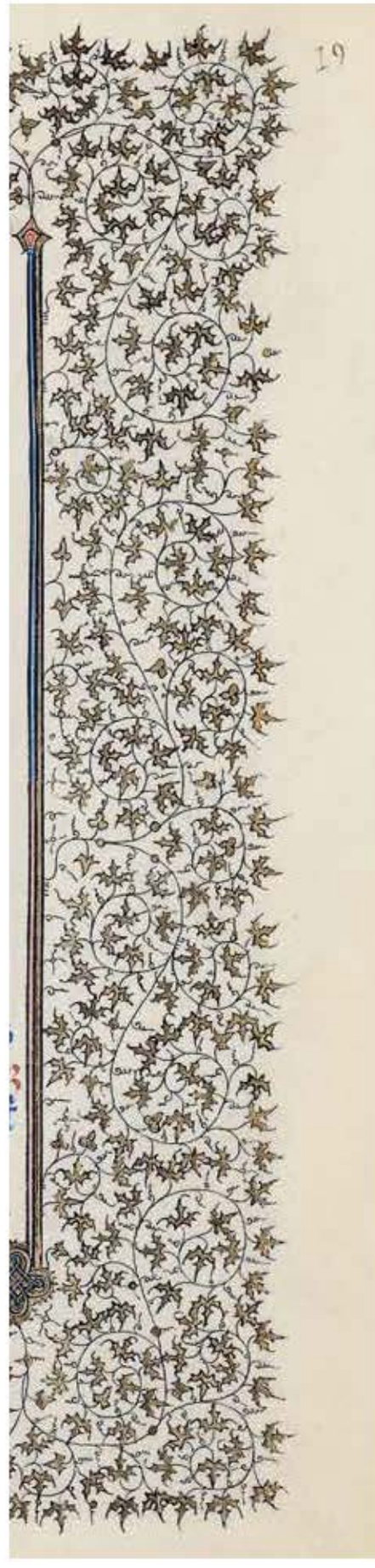


Fig. 72. Fol. 102v (detail, type III border by the first master, merging with decorated initial on text page)

tor earned him the enduring patronage of Jean de Berry. Although the record does not reveal who many of them were, the duke secured the services of the most skilled of the métiers on the rue Neuve Notre-Dame and on the rue des Écrivains, for his greatest passion, particularly later in life, was for the art of the book, and Jean de Berry was setting the standards.

1. Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. 1, p. 11. The two volumes of this publication provide an exhaustive but fascinating study of the commercial book trade in Paris from 1200 to 1500.
2. The function of the *libraires* that is of most concern here is that of contracting books—fulfilling the wishes of the client by engaging all the necessary members of the métiers to produce the desired volume. In addition to this entrepreneurial role, *libraires* sold books or often practiced one of the métiers such as an *écrivain*—scribe. As the *libraires* essentially controlled the supply of books, the university had a vested interest in their activities, which they controlled by regulation, and authorized *libraires* were required to take an oath of allegiance to the university and were required to place a bond to ensure their compliance. In addition to regulating the sale of books, the university controlled the renting of exemplars for copying by establishing fees and making sure that the texts were uncorrupted; those authorized for this function were the *libraires*-stationers. Ibid., pp. 75–78.
3. Ibid., pp. 261–79.
4. Ibid., p. 280.
5. Ibid., p. 282.
6. Ibid., pp. 286–87, 293.
7. Ibid., pp. 293, 401 n. 47, and pp. 296–97.
8. Ibid., pp. 295–96. The earlier *Histoire* is Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 301. The copy is British Library, Royal 20 D.I.
9. Ibid., p. 401 n. 45.
10. For more detailed discussions of manuscript making, see Alexander 1992; De Hamel 2001; and "The Making of Manuscripts in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in New York 2005, pp. 21–23.
11. The foliation runs through 225 but fol. 188 was inadvertently omitted. The term "vellum" derives from the French *vélin*, meaning "calfskin." See Margaret Lawson's note in this volume: p. 340, n. 21.
12. Color designations are to be understood as descriptive rather than pigment identifiers. For a pigment analysis, see Margaret Lawson's essay in this volume, pp. 324–41.
13. For a full discussion of rulings with reference to the *Belles Heures*, see Byrne 1984, esp. pp. 121–27.
14. See ibid., esp. pp. 118–27.
15. For material analyses, see Margaret Lawson's essay in this volume, pp. 324–41.
16. Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. 1, p. 401 n. 45; Cazelles 1984, p. 55 and n. 5.
17. John Plummer, noting that none of the texts of the duke's other Books of Hours are ordered like the *Belles Heures*, except for the *Très Riches Heures*, "whose text is a somewhat revised version of the *Belles Heures*," was unable to identify a precise textual source but found "significant connections" with a Book of Hours illuminated by the Luçon Master in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W. 231. See Plummer 1992, p. 425.
18. This master was responsible for most of the decorated initials in the *Très Belles Heures of Jean de Berry* (*Brussels Hours*), Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Ms. 11060–11061. See Paris 2004a, pp. 109–10, no. 45. The manuscript appears in the duke's 1402 inventory. The London manuscript is British Library, Ms. add. 29433; see Paris 2004a, pp. 274–75, no. 169B. The decoration of this manuscript is thoroughly discussed by Farber 1993, pp. 21–30.
19. Plummer 1974a, esp. pp. 193–98.
20. These illuminations were not left unfinished, as some have argued.
21. See Meiss 1974, p. 104.
22. Borders with close affinities to those of both the principal artists of the secondary decoration in the *Belles Heures* also appear in a Book of Hours largely illuminated by the Master of the Brussels Initials before 1408 and now in the British Library, Ms. add. 29433. See note 18 above. Whether these were executed by the same artists who worked on the *Belles Heures* as Calkins argues (1981, p. 228), or whether by artists informed by the decoration of the *Belles Heures* is not easily established. It appears, however, that work on the secondary decoration of both books coincided.
23. For a listing of the manuscripts in which the Master of the Brussels Hours's work appears, see Meiss 1974, p. 377, and Calkins 1981, p. 230 n. 2. For a detailed discussion of the first and second master, his Master B and A, respectively, see Farber 1993, pp. 21–33.

Sequence of Production

The *Belles Heures* was produced over a three-to-four-year period beginning about 1405 and concluding no later than the first half of 1409. The course of work did not progress neatly from start to finish, nor would we expect it to. In conventional French book production, for example, the Calendar pages that begin nearly all Books of Hours were often the last to be executed and, presumably, the ex libris of Jean Flamel would not have been added until after the book was delivered to Jean de Berry. The *Belles Heures* began as a relatively unambitious, standard Book of Hours, but both the concept and the structure of the manuscript changed in midcourse.[2] What distinguishes the *Belles Heures* from all other Books of Hours is the addition of seven pictorial cycles with truncated texts devoted to, in their present order of appearance, Saint Catherine; the Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great; Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and the Founding of the Carthusian Order; Heraclius and the True Cross; Saint Jerome; Saints Paul and Anthony; and Saint John the Baptist. As these cycles are all histories—not celebratory prayers—they cannot be considered accessory texts. Indeed, they have nothing to do with a Book of Hours other than that the patron perhaps wished them for reasons of piety, but also for enlarging the canvas for his young, talented painters. By better understanding the sequence of production, we can track the stylistic and compositional advances of the Limbourg brothers, and conversely, by recognizing these advances, we can better deduce the order of production.

Fol. 182v (detail)

The original scribal plan had the manuscript made up of quaternions, that is, four sheets folded in half, or four *bifolia*, making a gathering of eight folia, or sixteen pages. After the quires were ruled, the text added, and possibly before the secondary decoration—the decorated initials, line enders, and borders—was completed, and the pages illuminated, a scribe added in small, unobtrusive lettering a catchword at the end of each quire. The catchword gave the first few words of the next quire, thus serving as an aid to the binder and ensuring the quires were assembled in proper order (see fig. 56, and fol. 138v, p. 177). As the manuscript is today, quires V through X, XIV through XVI, XVII through XX, XXI through XXIV, XXVII through XXVIII, and XXIX through XXX are all quaternions and are all, within each grouping, linked by catchwords. Therefore, these groupings are in their original sequence and reflect the original scribal plan.[3] We must then consider the remaining quires.

As we have already noted, quires I and II, the ex libris and the Calendar pages, were the last to be completed. Quire III, the Saint Catherine cycle, is, like all the picture cycles, a later intervention; these cycles will be considered below as a group. Quire IV, which contains the Readings from the Gospels and two Prayers to the Virgin—*Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*—originally was a quaternion, but it has lost its first folio, or more accurately, the front half of fol. 28 (see "Collation" in this volume). This sheet would have had the miniature of Saint John introducing the readings from his Gospel along with the now-missing part of his text. The fragmentary quire was wrapped with a blank *bifolio*, now fols. 21 and 29. As already noted, an offset of the missing page appears on fol. 21v, indicating that, for whatever reasons, the blank wrapper was added well before the miniature was lost. The fact that color and some of the design from the *Annunciation* on fol. 30 transferred to fol. 29v but not to 28v, further indicates that the wrapper was added early in the manuscript's history.[3] The offset on fol. 21v reveals that there was a full-page illumination of Saint John and that it had a border of the same type as the one that appears on the *Annunciation* page, a type that appears nowhere else in the manuscript. The surviving miniatures in the Readings are all partial-page, in fact, very close in format to that employed by the Limbourgs in the *Bible moralisée* on which they had previously worked.

Throughout the manuscript there is often, but not always, a rubric at the end of a textual division that signals to the reader what is to follow, thus providing a measure of continuity. In the groupings just identified these rubrics are scribed in a red to orange-red ink that matches the rubrics within the body of the text and, therefore, it can be assumed, reflect the original scribal plan. At the end of the penitential psalms on fol. 72v, for example, is the rubric in

the usual minium, reading "letania." What follows on fols. 73 and 74, however, is the brief, four-picture cycle of Gregory the Great and the Great Litany, but we know this to be a subsequent addition inserted as an enhancement to the Litany, which, in fact, begins on fol. 75. In the Suffrages, quires XXI through XXIV, the same system of rubrication is used to introduce each Suffrage, which is a prayer or "memorial" primarily to saints or other holy figures or symbols. Folio 155v ends with a rubric reading "Memoria de Sancta Cruce. Antiphona." What follows, is in fact, a sequence of text and three images concerning the history of Heraclius and the True Cross, fols. 156 through 157. Again, we have an appropriate but intervening cycle enhancing the text that follows. And, indeed, the antiphon and prayer to the Holy Cross appear on fol. 157v. Throughout the rest of the Suffrages a similar rubric introduces the Virgin followed by an uninterrupted sequence of thirty-five saints or pairs of saints, each with a partial- or full-page image and a memorial. Another thirteen saints have memorials interspersed throughout, but no illuminations.

The same system of rubrication runs throughout the Masses, quires XXVII through XXX. Each Mass along with its partial-page illumination is introduced by a red to orange-red rubric, beginning with the Mass for Christmas (fol. 195, *Nativity*) and followed successively by the Masses for Easter (fol. 198, *Resurrection*), Ascension (fol. 199v, *Ascension*), Whitsunday (fol. 202, *Celebration of Pentecost Mass*), Trinity Sunday (fol. 204, *Throne of Grace*), Corpus Christi (fol. 205v, *Elevation of the Host*), Exultation of the Cross (fol. 207v, *Exultation of the Cross*), and the Virgin (fol. 209, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*), the latter ending on fol. 210v. As the Mass for the Virgin ends toward the bottom of the first column, leaving the remaining lines and those of the second column blank, and all preceding Masses run on textually leaving no blank lines, work here appears to have been abruptly halted. Indeed, the plan changed, for on fol. 211 begins a series of four full-page illuminations with a truncated text of Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–ca. 799) in praise of Saint John the Baptist (see fig. 74). The text for the fourth illumination, *Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist* (fol. 212v), is not, however, a continuation of the history, but the beginning of the Mass for John the Baptist (*Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista. Introit*). Thus another history was inserted to enhance the ensuing Mass. The catchwords on fol. 210v (*antra deserti*), which link to the opening text of the history of John the Baptist, are in a different hand and clearly were added for the benefit of the binder after the programmatic change.[4] This Mass and the three that follow each end on a verso with a rubric introducing the next Mass, each of which begins on the facing recto with a full-page illumination: Saints Peter and Paul (fol. 215, *Death of Simon Magus*), All Saints (fol. 218, *Heavenly Hosts*), and All Souls (fol. 221, *Mass for All Souls*).

Another type of rubrication was introduced early on in the Hours of the Virgin; here at the end of each Hour a rubric in ultramarine introduces the next while the final Hour, Compline, introduces the penitential psalms that follow. These rubrics, however, in addition to the color change, are slightly bolder than the text and appear to have been added after the changes to confirm the order: In French Books of Hours of the period, the prayers to the Virgin (*Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*) not infrequently followed rather than preceded the Hours of the Virgin, and the penitential psalms, likewise, occasionally followed the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. The same rubrication appears at the end of the Hours of the Cross (fol. 83v) to introduce the Hours of the Holy Spirit, while the latter ends with a rubric (fol. 87v), in the same bolder script but in minium, introducing the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin. Both likewise appear to be later additions confirming the new order. The same rubrications are again encountered in the Office of the Passion at the end of each of the Hours introducing, in two lines, the next Hour, but with a notable variation: the first, at the end of Matins (fol. 131), is scribed in magenta ink on the first line and in ultramarine on the second, and the last, at the end of Compline (fol. 154v), signals the end of the Office of the Passion in blue and introduces the Suffrages that follow in magenta. This combination of inks is identical to that used in the texts of all the picture cycles, which were conceived in the later stages of production. The same combination of ink appears in the Readings from the Gospels (quire IV) and the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (quire XII), both of which were additions to the original scribal plan. The rubric that marks the end of the Suffrages (fol. 182v), written in the same magenta ink on six lines, is particularly telling. The first three lines declare that the Masses follow and the first of these is for the Nativity ("Secuntur misse. Et primo, de Nativitate Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi"), while the last three, contradictorily, declare that the life of the blessed Saint Jerome fully depicted is placed first ("Et primo ponitur vita beati Jeronimi tota ystoriata") (see illustration, p. 75). This suggests that the first part confirmed the altered order, while the second was then added to rationalize the later intervention of the Jerome cycle.

Returning to the quires not in the original groupings, it has been noted that on fol. 87v, at the end of quire XI, comprising the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, was the nearly trimmed-off catchword *placebo*, which proves that this quire was originally followed by quire XIV, the Office of the Dead, which begins with that antiphon.[5] This fact further forces the conclusion that quire XII, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and quire XIII, Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and the Founding of the Carthusian Order, were later intrusions. Similar catchwords appear on fol. 154v at the end of quire XX, the Office of the Passion, which reads *Domine labia*, indicating that it was originally followed by the Office of the Cross, quire XI, or another now-lost Office.[6] This would then have been the original order with the Office of the Passion, followed by the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, followed by the Office of the Dead. The

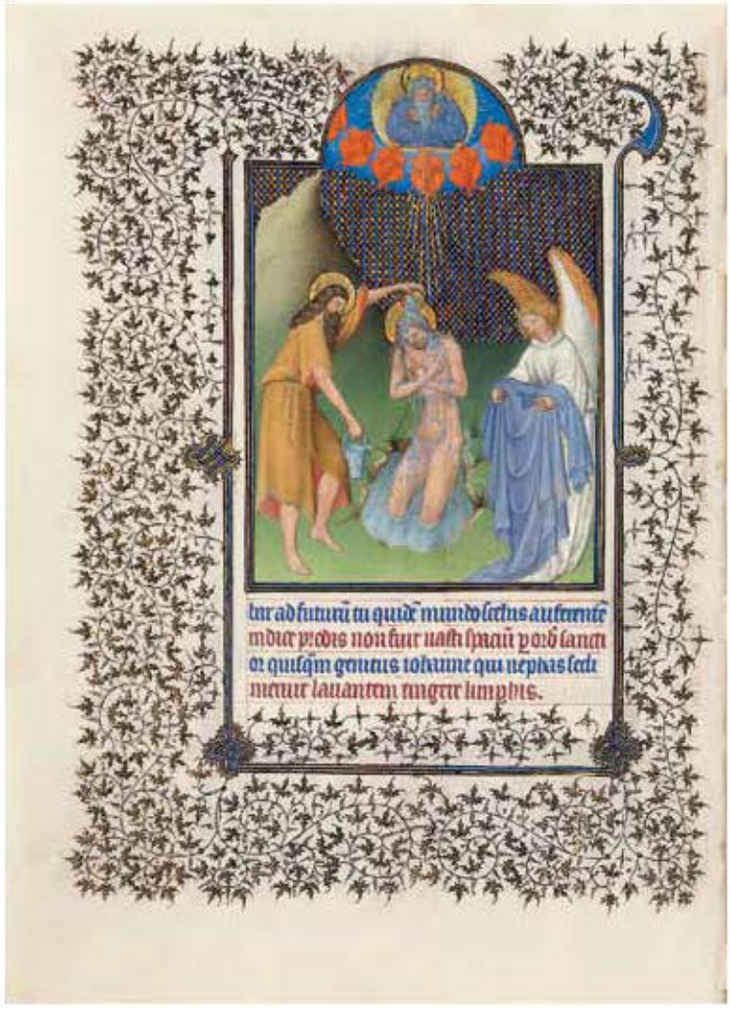


Fig. 74. *Saint John Baptizes Christ*, fol. 221v

penitential psalms and the Litany, which often preceded the Office of the Dead, followed the Hours of the Virgin, but this adheres to the original plan as one followed the other without interruption in the middle of quire IX. The prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata* are here placed at the end of the Readings from the Gospels in quire IV, likewise one following the other without interruption in the middle of the quire. It is possible, however, that the two prayers to the Virgin were added later and placed after the Readings simply because there were sufficient blank ruled pages left in the quire. The blue and magenta rubrics were then scribed to rationalize the order and give visual continuity to the quire. The ordering, with the exception of the inserted cycles, followed current convention, and it was essentially repeated in the *Très Riches Heures*, excepting the *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*, which were eliminated altogether.

The picture cycles conceptually evolved in the course of production of the manuscript. As already observed, Heraclius and the True Cross and the History of Saint John the Baptist are not insertions but additions to existing quires and were intended to enhance or amplify the Suffrage of the True Cross with two images and the Mass of John the Baptist with three. All the illuminations in these two cycles, as with most of the early full-page illuminations, were painted over pages ruled for two columns of text. Both end with illuminations over four lines of text in two columns, with rubrications and decorated initials, this being the earlier format used also throughout the Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Passion. These pages—the *Exultation of the Cross* in the Heraclius cycle (fol. 157, p. 191) and *Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist* in the Baptist cycle (fol. 212v, p. 256)—were most likely the first to be illuminated. The illuminations that preceded—two in Heraclius and three in John the Baptist—employ the format developed expressly for the picture book cycles: four lines of full-width text in alternating blue and magenta. The bottom five lines in these pages were re-ruled to connect across the center margin with this arrangement in mind (see fig. 74). This change signaled an expanded approach to the picture cycles.

The cycle of Gregory the Great and the Great Litany, comprising four full-page illuminations, is again an enhancement, albeit somewhat more extensive, of the Litanies that follow. But here the texts are on a single *bifolio*, ruled for the new text format and allowing for large illuminations, which was inserted into an existing quire, expanding it from four to six *bifolia* (see fol. 73v, p. 138). The Catherine, Raymond Diocrès and Saint Bruno, Jerome, and Paul and Anthony cycles take the same format, but increase the number of folios, varying from four to seven in independent gatherings, which constitute interventions in the original quire layout, and have no relationship with neighboring texts. In these expanded cycles the Limbourg brothers developed their pictorial and narrative skills, a subject that is addressed in "The Compositional Intelligence of the Narrative Cycles" in this volume.

As noted in "Page Organization and Decoration" in this volume, the borders of the *Belles Heures* were executed by two masters, the second of whom was superior. The first hand executed the borders in the Readings from the Gospels; the Hours of the Virgin, excepting quire VII; the penitential psalms; the Litany; the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and Seven Prayers Invoking the Incarnation and the Passion; the Office of the Dead; the Office of the Passion;[7] two quires (XXII and XXIV) of the Suffrages; and one quire (XXVII) of the Masses. He also was responsible for those of Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and the Founding of the Carthusian Order; of the four illuminations of the outer *bifolio* of the Saint Catherine cycle (fols. 15 and 15v, *Saint Catherine in Her Study* and *Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol*, and fols. 20 and 20v, *Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to Mount Sinai* and a ruled page with border but no illumination). He also produced the borders for the February, March, April, August, September, October, and November pages.

The second hand was responsible for the borders in one of the six quires (VII) comprising the Hours of the Virgin; the Hours

of the Holy Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit; the Prayers to the Holy Spirit and to the Holy Trinity; two quires (XXI and XXIII) of the Suffrages; one quire (XXVIII) of the Masses; and for the final three quires (XXIX through XXXI). He also did the borders of the pictorial cycles of Saint John the Baptist; Gregory the Great and the Great Litany; Heraclius and the True Cross; Saint Jerome; Saints Paul and Anthony; as well as eight illuminations in the Catherine cycle. He also produced the borders of the Calendar pages for January, May, June, July, and December.

The first master, then, completed the border decoration of most of the original groupings, that is, all the borders of quires IV through X (except the story of Heraclius); XII, XIII; XIV through XVI; XVII through XX; and XXVII. The second master executed the borders for VII (Hours of the Virgin); XI; XXI; XXIII; XXV; XXVI; XXVIII; and XXIX through XXXI. Thus both masters were active in varying degrees throughout the production of the manuscript, with the first master producing most of the borders for the earlier quires. But as the manuscript progressed and the program was altered to include the expanded pictorial cycles, the second master assumed an increasingly prominent role. The reasons for the shift from one master to the other are unknown, but the duke's discerning eye and quest for quality must have been among the determining factors.

1. Meiss 1974, pp. 135–36; Plummer 1992, p. 421.
2. See Plummer 1974b, p. 335.
3. There is also an offset of what appears to be two pilgrims' badges on fol. 21. These must have been attached to a now-missing folio or, perhaps more likely, the wrapper *bifolium* was reused from another dismantled manuscript.
4. See Plummer 1974b, p. 335.
5. Ibid. The catchword is now visible only under ultraviolet light and is faint but just legible.
6. Ibid. The catchwords are visible only under ultraviolet light. There are further catchwords on fols. 122v and 210v, but these reflect the existing order and probably were added after all the changes and additions were made.
7. The second master appears to have had a hand in the *Agony in the Garden*, fol. 123.

Descriptions and Texts of the Miniatures

Ex libris

The manuscript begins with the full-page inscription of the duke of Berry's secretary, Jean Flamel. Following the custom practiced by his royal relatives, the duke usually penned his own ex libris, generally at the end of the text. In a few exceptional manuscripts, including the *Belles Heures*, the duke deferred to the remarkable penmanship of Jean Flamel. The capitals enhanced with elaborate pen flourishes are known as *cadeaux* (gifts).

Quire i

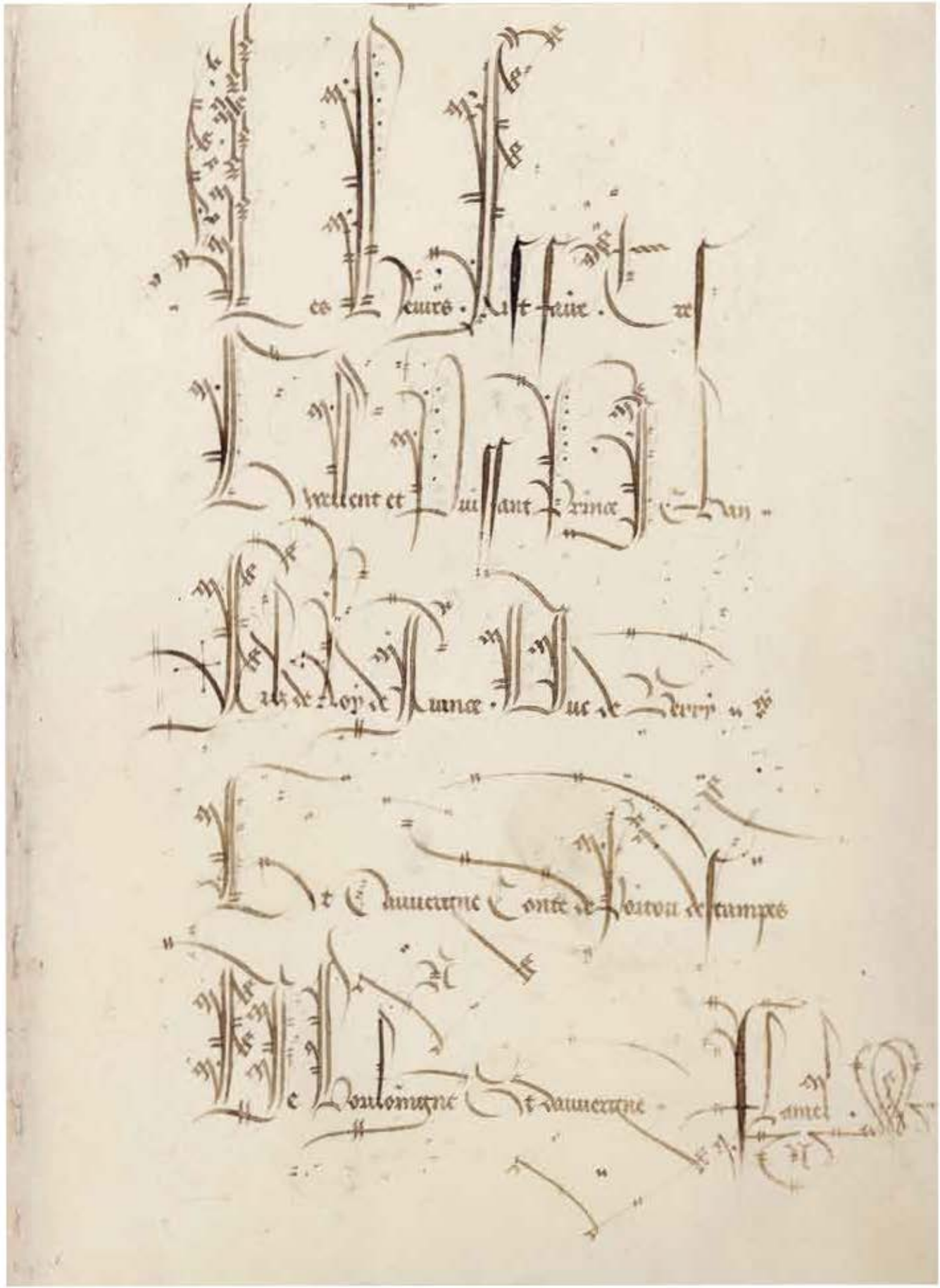
fol. 1

Les Heures Fist faire Tres / Excellent Puissant Prince Jehan / Filz de Roy de France Duc de Berry / Et dauvergne Conte de Poitou destampes / De Boulongne et dauvergne / Flamel

This Book of Hours was made for the most excellent and powerful prince Jean, son of the king of France, duke of Berry and of Auvergne, count of Poitou, of Estampes, of Boulogne, and of Auvergne. Flamel

The capitals rise to exaggerated heights and burst forth with serifs often terminating with angular flourishes; occasionally the lower-case letters send out vinelike runners of great length, perhaps alluding to the meanders of bryony tendrils that fill the manuscript borders. The message of the text reveals itself only as the eye penetrates the extravagant tapestry of linear flourish.

All illustrations in "Descriptions and Texts of the Miniatures" are reproduced at actual size.



Calendar Pages

In the Middle Ages people kept track of the days of the months not so much by numerical sequence as we do today but by the name of the saint or feast celebrated on that particular date. Our references to Valentine's Day, Easter, Halloween, and Christmas instead of February 14 (the martyrdom of Saint Valentine), a moveable date (the Resurrection of Christ), October 31 (the eve of All Saints' Day), and December 25 (the birth of Christ) are holdovers from this medieval Christian practice. Nearly all Books of Hours began with a Calendar that lists the feast and holy days, principally anniversaries of saints, day by day and month by month throughout the Calendar year. As there were many more saints than days of the year, those venerated locally or regionally were given preference. Likewise the length of the solar and lunar days varied according to latitude. For this reason the contents of the Calendar, as the texts of a Book of Hours, varied widely and thus were for the liturgical use of a particular diocese or region as the "usage of Rome" or the "usage of Paris." The Calendar contents of luxury manuscripts could be customized for the personal taste and interests of the commissioner. In the case of the *Belles Heures*, the feast days of many saints favored by Jean de Berry were specified, while the Calendar pages were enhanced with elaborate borders and medallions with illuminations of the activities or labors of the months and the zodiacal signs.

In the *Belles Heures*, the Calendar page for each month begins on the recto (the right-hand page) and ends on the verso (the left-hand page), each ruled for seventeen lines; only the rectos are illuminated. The Calendar is structured in the conventional four-column arrangement. At the head, the first line begins with a decorated *KL* for Kalends, the first day of the month, followed by the name, the month, and the number of solar days in gold, whereas the second gives the number of lunar days in blue ink. Below, in the first column, are a series of roman numerals, *i–xix*, in alternating red and blue ink, in a nonconsecutive but fixed order. These are the golden numbers. Each year has a different golden number that can be determined by a mathematical formula. Once established, the golden number is used to fix the date of the new moon and, by adding fourteen, that of the full moon. In the second column are the dominical letters, *a–g*, in black ink, running consecutively through the month, but not necessarily beginning with *a*. Another formula determines the dominical for each year, and this situates the Sundays for the entire year. Together, the golden number and the dominical are used to fix the date of Easter, the preeminent feast of the Christian year, which falls on the first Sunday after the first full moon following the vernal equinox, and always between March 22 and April 25, inclusively.[1]

The next column comprises the archaic Roman calendrical system: each month had three fixed points, Kalends, Nones (the fifth or seventh day of the month), and Ides (the middle of the month, either the thirteenth or fifteenth), here indicated in abbreviated form (*kl'*, *id'* or *idus*, and *Nös*), in alternating blue and red ink. All the other days were calculated by counting backward from these fixed points. This complicated system, the Julian calendar, was by the fifteenth century more than a week out of synch with the lunar calendar, yet Europe only switched to the reformed Gregorian calendar in 1583. Indicative of the gradual decline in the use of the archaic Roman system is the somewhat meaningless repetition of *N'* and *id'* between the three fixed points. The final column comprises the sequence of feasts, written in alternating red and blue ink, and holy days in burnished gold. The final line (or lines) on the verso gives the average length of the days and nights for the month.

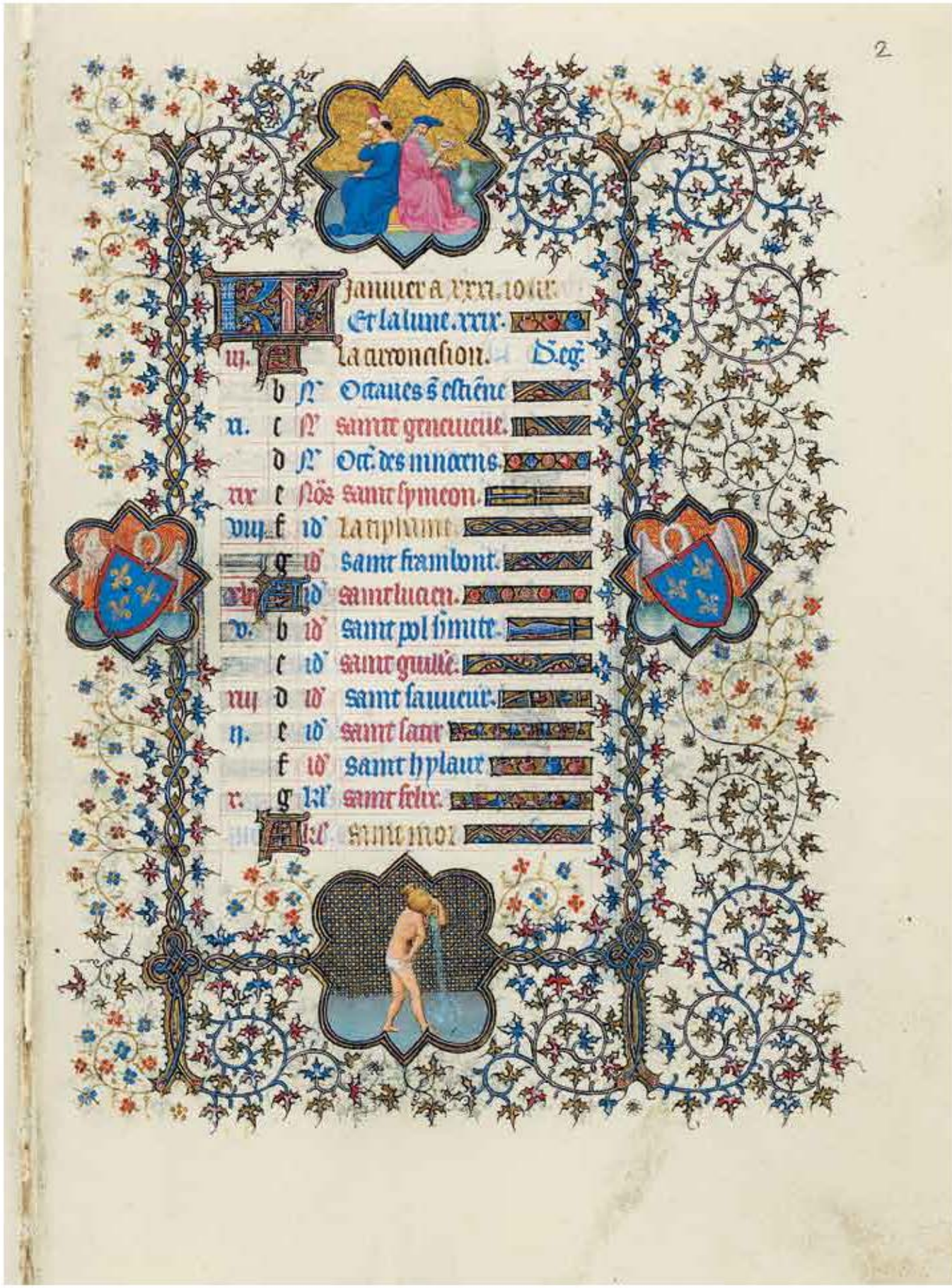
See "Schematic Chart of Calendar Pages" on pp. 349–61.

Quire II

fol. 2

January: Youth and Old Age—Aquarius

On every recto throughout the Calendar pages are, within quatrefoil frames, activities of the month at the top and zodiacal signs at the bottom. For January, a youth and an old man sit back to back in a Janus-like fashion; the youth drinks from a full bowl while the old man futilely reaches for a large jug to fill his empty bowl, for the water, like time, has run out.[2] The symmetry of the composition is underscored by the colors of the costumes: the youth wears a blue robe and a mauve hat and the old man wears a mauve robe and a blue hat. The positioning of the knees and the trails of drapery are nearly mirror images of each other. Below, Aquarius, a powerful man wearing only a loincloth, pours water from a large jug supported on his shoulder and braced by his arm planted on his hip. The carefully modeled form of his body contrasts to the heavily draped personifications of youth and old age above. The seemingly never-ending flow of water hitting the silvery ground in a splash of delicate drops counterpoises the dearth and plenty of the supplies above. January and December have particularly elaborate borders. Here the gold bryony leaves are enhanced with blue and red ones and the meanders of curling tendrils are randomly interrupted with patches of red and blue blossoms. In slightly smaller quatrefoils at the center of each side are heraldic shields bearing the duke's arms and supported by one of his personal devices, a swan. Alluding to the element of the month, the swans stand in their watery habitat.



Januier a xxxi. iours
Et la lune. xxix.
La auronasion. D. cg.
b S. Octaues s̄ elchēne
c S. sanct gneuieue.
d S. Oct. des innocens
e Sōs sanct symeon.
f id. La epiphanie
g id. sanct hylayre.
id. sanct lucian.
b id. sanct pol hermite.
c id. sanct guillē.
d id. sanct sauueur.
e id. sanct sanc
f id. sanct hylaire
g S. sanct felix.
S. sanct mor

fol. 3

February: Man Warming His Hands—Pisces

Warding off the winter chill, wearing a long robe, muffler, and fur hat, a prosperous man in a domestic interior warms his hands with the flames of the hearth. Smoke wafts over the mantel of a large fire into the room, a substantial affair with ornamented stone walls, a tiled floor, and a wood ceiling. Folds in the lush fabric of his robe shimmer with silvery white highlights. Below, against a tessellated ground resembling basket weave are two plump fish: Pisces. In an ironic reference to the zodiac, are the elongated objects being roasted on the grate in the interior scene above filets of fish? The simplified border of fine-lined tendrils and golden bryony leaves is repeated throughout the rest of the Calender pages except for that of December, which commences with an elaborated border similar to that of January.

fol. 4

March: Cultivating Vines—Aries

Two stolid men, seen three-quarters from the back, toil among the leafless vines: at left, a barefooted peasant in a torn whole-cloth smock with his muscular legs firmly planted on the ground spades the earth while his companion, echoing the stance of Aquarius, pours dark brown manure from a large basket poised on his shoulder. His bent posture conforms to the angle of the frame, whereas his companion's extended right leg parallels the adjacent line. All of the action draws the viewer's eye to the center of the composition. The grayish green of the foreground darkens as the hilly landscape recedes to the tooled gold of the background. Below, a majestic ram, Aries, stands on a gray ground sharply delineated by the blue damascened background.

fol. 5

April: Courtier Smelling a Flower—Taurus

Compared to the vineyard workers of March, this foppishly attired nobleman cuts a figure as slight as his pastime. Holding a bare branch in one hand, he pauses in a grassy meadow to sniff a blossom held in his other. Such carefree activities are rare: only April is characterized by the idle indulgence of the senses, though the object of the exercise is to court his intended. Standing on the frame, the figure blurs the distinction between his space and that of the viewers. Below, a hefty bull, Taurus, stands on a grassy plain in sharp profile like the ram, Aries. The background is a rich tessellated pattern of quatrefoils that reads like openwork of gold latticing against an azure sky.

fol. 6

May: Falconing—Gemini

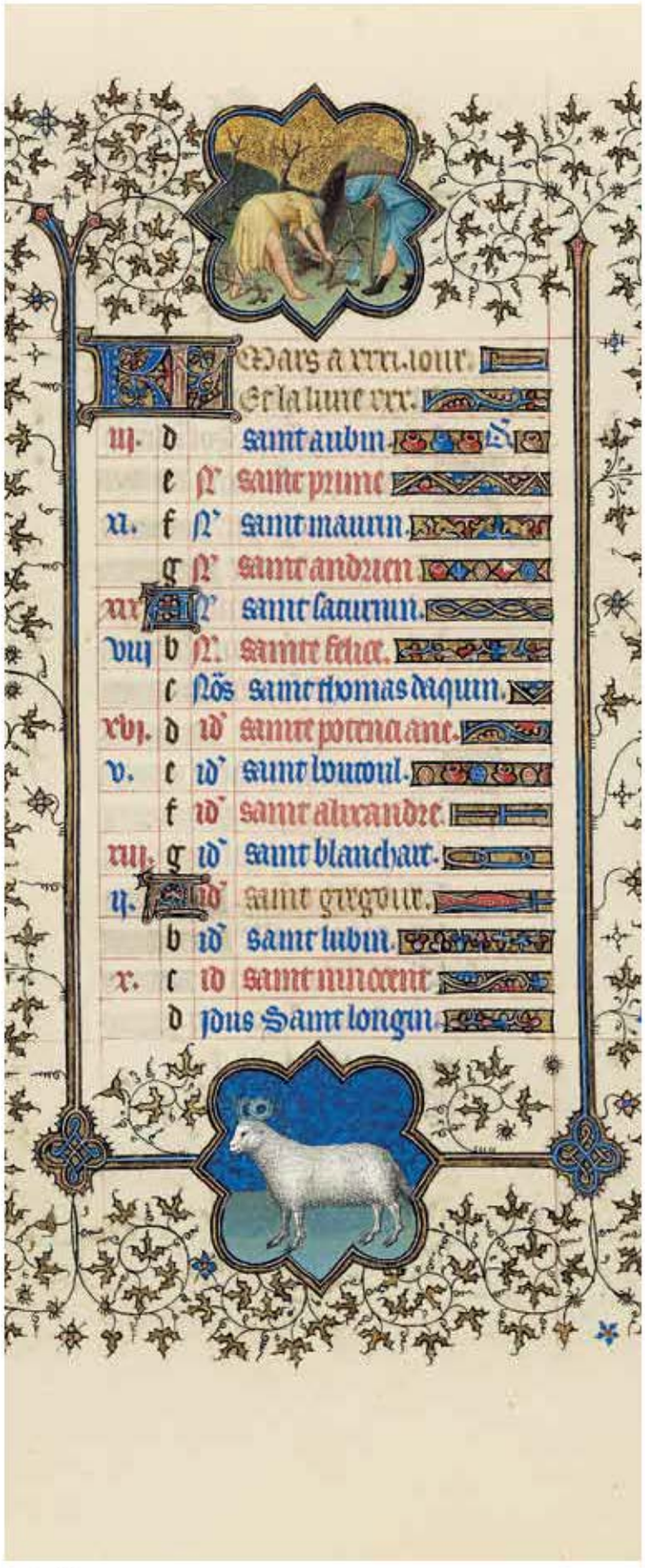
Here a nobleman, as slight as his April counterpart, sits rigidly erect on horseback. With a sword strapped to his side, he holds the reigns in one hand, along with a green leafy bough, while a grayish white falcon perches on his other. On a white steed caparisoned in a blue that matches his robe, the falconer with a May wreath in his hair rides across a grassy plain distinguished only by a solitary tree. This courtly scene is set off by golden fronds against a bright red background. Below, the zodiacal sign Gemini is represented not by identical male twins, for the twin stars Castor and Pollux, but by a male with brown hair and beard and a blond female. The reasons for mixing the genders are not clear. Locked arm in arm, the two preserve their modesty by jointly holding a large yellowish orange shield decorated with a leafy pattern that is echoed in the lush vegetal background rendered in varied tones of deep blue. With one foot on the silvery gray foreground and the other on the frame, the two figures, whose heads also overlap the frame, create spatial ambiguity.

fol. 7

June: Scything Hay—Cancer

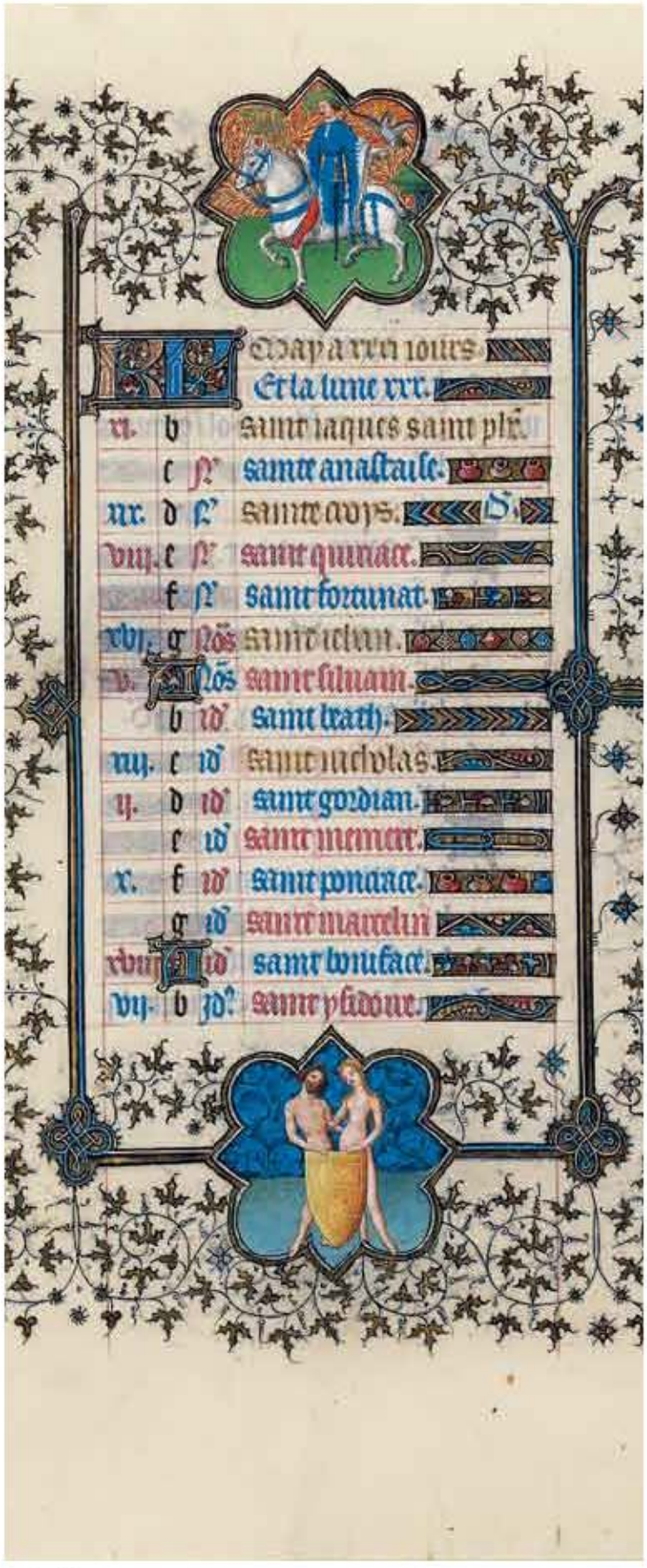
The summer months bring the return of the laborers. Here a sturdy peasant in a white tunic wields a scythe in a verdant field of waving yellowish green bounty. The sky of lush leaves in tones of deep blue seems to echo the earthly abundance. The hat pulled down over his face lends an air of anonymity to this worker that is shared by fellow laborers of other months. Like the twins of Gemini, this figure appears to be partially on the viewer's side of the picture frame. Below, a crayfish, rather than the conventional crab, Cancer, is placed on an elaborate tessellated pattern in gold and blue. Viewed from above with its antennae extending far beyond the edge, the quatrefoil serves more as a trencher than a picture frame.

Feurier a xxviij. iours.
Et la lune xxx.
d saint bride.
xi. c kl' La chandeleur.
xix. f kl' saint blaise.
viij. g kl' saint auentin
A Nos saint agate.
xvj. b id' saint amant.
v. c id' saincte helenne.
d id' saint salomon.
xiij. e id' saincte apoline
ij. f id' saincte scolastique.
g id' saint desier.
x. A id' saincte eulalie.
b ydus saint lucien.
xviij. c kl' saint ualentin
vij. d kl'. saint marcel. Sol in piscibus



4 (detail)

5 (detail)



6 (detail)

7 (detail)

fol. 8

July: Harvesting Wheat—Leo

Two barefooted peasants, one in a white tunic and the other in a shirt and briefs, harvest grain; one cuts the summer harvest with a sickle and the other ties the gathering of wheat into a sheaf. Brimmed hats, one gray and one yellow, hide the workers' identities and add curious punctuation marks to the scene. Pale tones and shadowless light convey the heat of the day. The summer sky is again rendered as an aerial harvest of leafy vegetation in tones of deep blue. Here the quatrefoil frame overlaps parts of the figures, unambiguously confining them to the picture space. The scene is, however, carefully composed: the bent knee of the peasant at left mirrors the adjacent angle of the frame; the right leg of the standing man provides an emphatic central vertical, and their backs create parallel diagonals. The distribution of wheat sheaves balances the volumes of the human forms. All in all, this is one of the most sophisticated compositions in the Calendar pages. The zodiacal lion, Leo, is poised passant guardant on a silvery ground against curling sprays of golden fronds on azure.

fol. 9

August: Threshing Wheat—Virgo

A barefooted harvester, in white briefs and a partially opened gray-blue shirt revealing his rounded belly, swings a flail in both arms upraised behind his head. The angle of the flail implies energetic motion. The two standing bundles of wheat behind the worker are balanced by the flattened sheaves in front of him. The figure provides a strong central vertical in this carefully balanced composition. An elegantly dressed young woman below, Virgo, holds a martyr's palm in one hand and a leafy branch in the other. The silvery gray ground rises in the center and the tessellated gold and red background resembles a rich cloth of honor. The red background appears to recede from the brilliant blue of her gown. The stance of the figure nearly replicates that of the flailing figure above; in both, the eye is drawn to the rounded stomachs that weight the composition slightly off center.

fol. 10

September: Treading Grapes—Libra

A man, naked but for a breechcloth, tramples grapes in a large wood vat as his coworker empties a hod full of grapes into the mix. The stance of this figure wearing a tunic nearly duplicates that of the spading man in March. The gray-blue tunic and bent figure of the hod bearer contrast with the pale skin and more upright carriage of the man in the vat. The angles of the back and the right leg of the man on the left parallel those of the adjacent angles of the frame, whereas the stance of the figure on the right curves slightly so that his head and shoulders conform to the enframing lobe.

8 (detail)

9 (detail)

10 (detail)

11 (detail)

Although the elegant female in courtly dress holding scales, Libra, contrasts markedly with the grape trampler, their akimbo stances are similar. The green ground and gold background are as evenly balanced as the scales she holds.

fol. 11

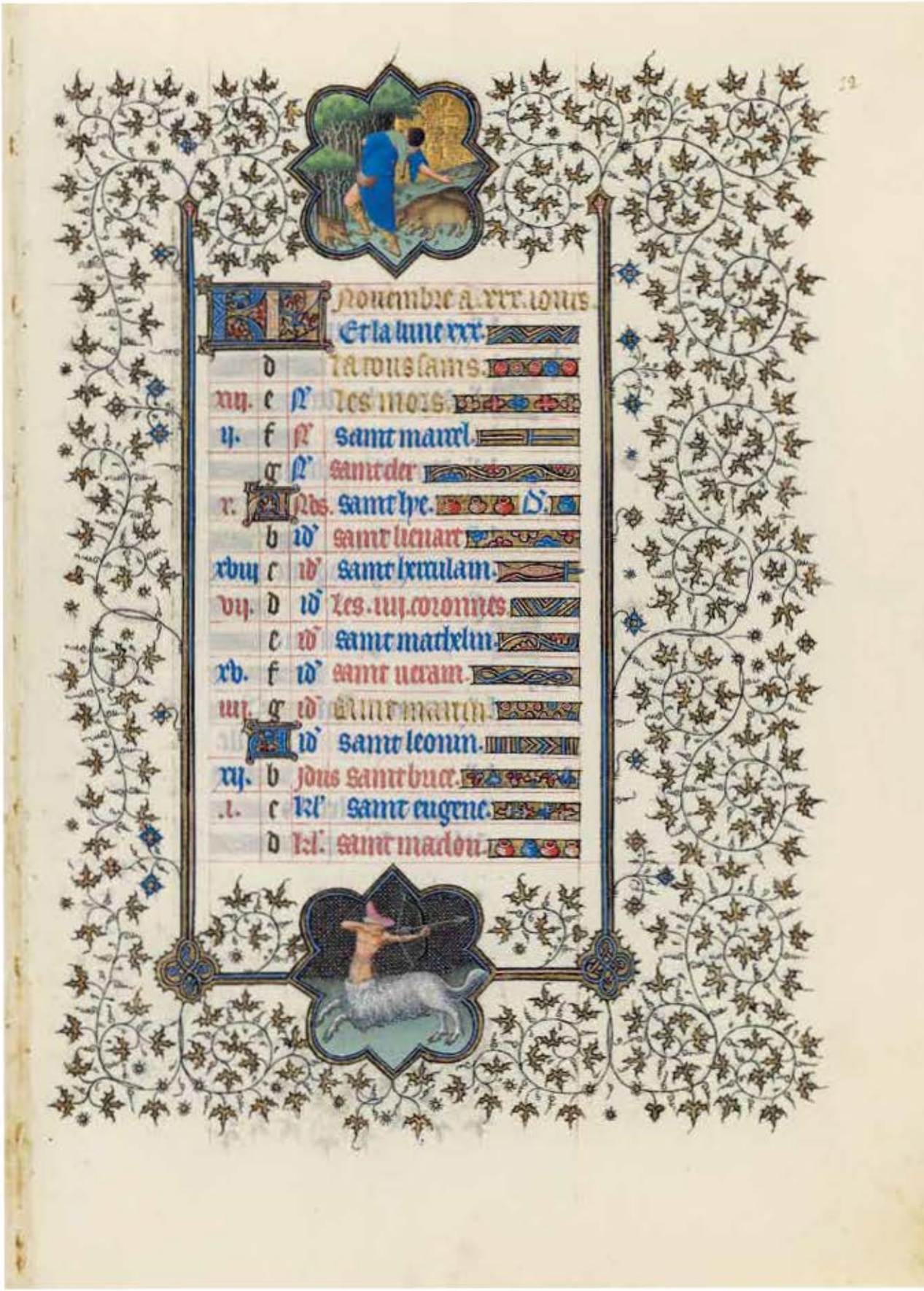
October: Sowing—Scorpio

A bearded man wearing a pale red hat, blue tunic, white apron, and high boots strides across a field of rich-brown furrowed earth. He draws up his apron in one hand to form a bag for seeds as he sows with his other. The plump sack of seeds with a wood scoop behind him more than counterbalances the spindly harrow in front. Though weightier, and certainly more purposeful, the stance of this man is very close to the April sensualist. A fine tessellated pattern in gold, blue, red, and white forms the background. Below, a scorpion, Scurpio, is placed neatly on a tessellated ground boldly patterned in blue quatrefoils within a square network of gold.

fol. 12

November: Feeding Pigs—Sagittarius

A swineherd, seen from the rear, accompanies his swine feeding on acorns. Leaning sharply backward, he prepares to throw a stick into the trees to knock down more acorns for his pigs. The exaggerated posture implies that the oaks are far taller than those depicted. The herder's bent left knee and right foot parallel the lines of the adjacent angles of the quatrefoil. The tops of the trees in the oak grove likewise conform to the format of the spaces they fill. The gold background has been tooled in curving lines creating a lively play of light. Below, Sagittarius, the archer wearing a brimmed and pointed hat, is centaurlike but with the body of a goat rather than a horse; the tail and legs carefully conform to the lines of the quatrefoil frame. He turns backward and draws an arrow in his bow aiming at an implied pursuer. The finely patterned tessellated background duplicates that of the October sower.


Nouembre a xxx iours
Et la lune xxx
d la tous sains
xiij. e Nl les mors
ij. f Nl saint marcel
g Nl saint cler
x. Nds. saint lye. D.
b id saint lienart
xviij c id saint herculain
vij. d id les iiij coronnes
e id saint mathelin
xv. f id saint ueram
iiij. g id saint martin
id saint leonin
xij. b Idus saint bruce
.i. c Kl saint eugene
d Kl saint maclou

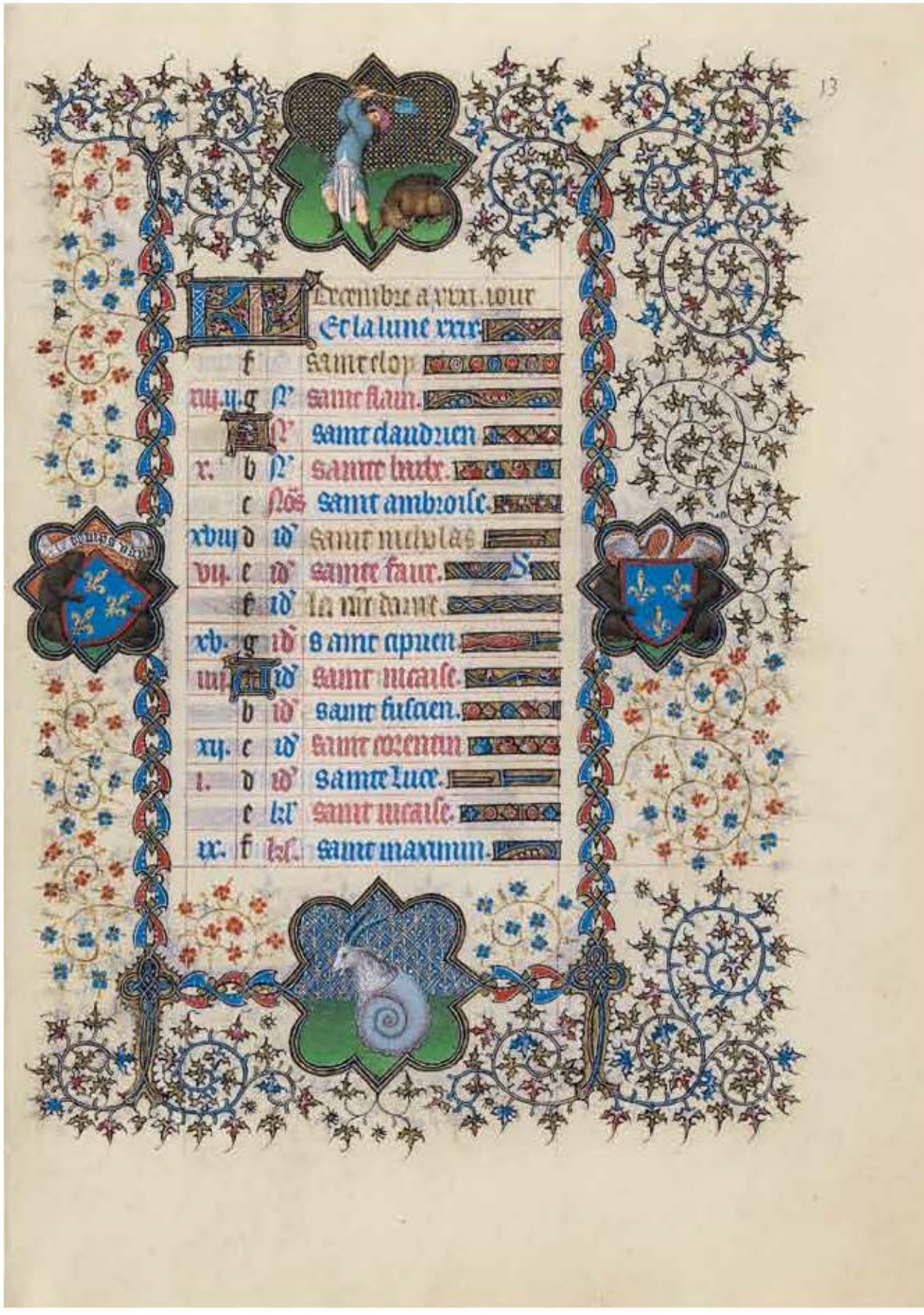
12

fol. 13

December: Slaughtering a Boar—Capricorn

A vigorous peasant leans backward and raises an ax behind his head preparing to slaughter a boar. Careful portrayal of the man's posture and the coiled tension of his stance make this one of the most convincing figures in the Calendar pages. Size, bristles, and tusks distinguish the boar from the domesticated swine of November. Below, Capricorn is placed on a green ground against a tessellated background incorporating gold fleurs-de-lis on royal blue. The final page, like the opening one, is elaborated with an enriched border and heraldic quatrefoils; bears, another personal device of the duke, support the arms. One shield is accompanied by a swan and the other by a banderole inscribed with the Duke's motto: *le temps van[dra]* (the time will come).

1. For a detailed explication of these complex calculations, see Wieck in Baltimore 1988, pp. 157–58, and Wieck in New York 1997, pp. 26–28.
2. The commentaries of Meiss and Beatson (1974) capture the essence of the illuminations with eloquence, concision, and pith. While I have attempted to bring my own voice to the commentaries throughout this chapter, echoes of Meiss and Beatson are inevitable and should be understood as a tribute to them.



13

The Story of Saint Catherine

The text for the story of Catherine, like that for most of the picture cycles, is drawn largely but in a much-abridged fashion, from *The Golden Legend*, a thirteenth-century compilation of saints' legends by the Italian friar and archbishop of Genoa, Jacopo de Voragine. As a royal—"born to the purple," according to the text—and reputed to be beautiful, highly intelligent, and learned, Catherine was especially venerated by the Valois princes.[1] The duke owned several of her relics. She was one of Jeanne de Boulogne's (the duke's second wife) patron saints, and she was also a patron saint of the University of Paris. Her intellectual achievements seem to have attracted the interest of Jean de Berry, and in this context she is subsequently joined by the cycles of Raymond Diocrès and Saint Jerome. The entire cycle is devoted to her unassailable arguments buttressed by faith and the price she must pay for her fervent beliefs. In an age much given to mysticism, it is exceptional that two of the most important events in her life—her vision of the Virgin and her mystical marriage to Christ—are omitted. Her favor is underscored by her position in the manuscript, preceding even that of the Virgin; in *Heavenly Hosts* at the end of the manuscript (fol. 218) she is the most prominent of the saints adoring the Virgin and Child.

Quire III

fol. 15

Saint Catherine in Her Study

The cycle opens with the unprecedented scene of Catherine, seen through a double arcade, reading in her study, clearly establishing the scholarly theme. The linear patterns of the floor tiles lead the eye into the deep spatial recession of the attached chapel. The large tracery window and the altar suggest that Catherine is in an ecclesiastical structure, but the statue of Moses holding the tablets of the Law, which stands on the altar rather than the usual liturgical furnishings, may indicate otherwise. At left, Saint Catherine concentrates with numinous calm on an unseen book resting on the lectern, and at right, counterbalancing the saint, a large two-tiered circular stand holds numerous volumes. The saint, as it were, is equated with learning. The ecclesiastical nature of the architecture may merely symbolize her faith. Another statue of Moses, here with horns, stands at the apex of the book stand. As the recipient of the Ten Commandments—on Mount Sinai where Catherine's remains were translated—he represents the written Word. Moses was also esteemed as an exceptional leader of people in times of trouble and was thus a model for rulers. The vivid red of the fan vaults provides the only relief to the otherwise monochromic, but dignified, interior. Catherine's elegant long neck, sloping shoulders, and contemplative downward gaze along with the cool tones of her white dress and blue mantle contribute to the focused serenity of the scene. A grotesque beast with a long neck and pointed wings inhabits the border in all but the last of the illuminations of this cycle. Whereas an elaborated border is employed on the opening folio, a simplified border of tendrils and gold bryony leaves graces the remaining images in the series.

* *

Katherina Costi regis filia omniumque liberalium artium studiis erudita et incredibili pulcritudine omnium oculis admirabilis in Alexandria civitate Egypti tempore Naxencii imperatoris claruit.

Catherine, daughter of King Costus, both versed in the liberal arts, and admirable in the eyes of all for her astonishing beauty, became celebrated in Alexandria, a city of Egypt, in the time of the Emperor Maxentius.

15

15v (detail)

fol. 15v

Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol

The next nine illuminations are remarkable for their spare settings, monumental figures, compositional unity, and dramatic intensity. Here the proscenium arcade, with its central colonette of the previous illumination, is functionally recalled by the column supporting the gold idol, which effectively divides the composition and separates idolatry from true belief. The horizon is relatively high; the landscape is reduced to a plane of green gradations, and like most of the illuminations in this cycle, the sky is replaced by a tessellated pattern providing greater focus to the dramatic narrative. Catherine holds a sacred text and turns away from the idol; the Roman emperor Maxentius firmly holds his sword but his backward glance to his adviser betrays his uncertainty. Stance, gesture, and expression all tell the story here.

* *

Katherina virgo annorum XVIII preceptoque Maxencius imperator christianos ad ydolorum sacrificet metu mortis cogeret. Munita signo crucis ante portam mirabilis sciencie profunditate ac eloquencie confundit.

Catherine was a virgin of 18 years when she learned that the Emperor Maxentius was forcing Christians to sacrifice to idols on pain of death. Armed with the sign of the cross, she confounded him at the gate by the depth of her remarkable learning and by her eloquence.

fol. 16

Saint Catherine Confounds the Learned

Realizing that he is no match for Catherine's wisdom, Maxentius summons "all grammarians and rhetoricians . . . promises them huge rewards if they, by their eloquence, could overcome the virgin's reasoning." But all the sages "found naught to say against her, and were left speechless." The monumental and foreshortened figure of the saint seen from below and separated from the group by the confines of the throne pictorially affirms Catherine's authority. This perception is underscored by the fact that, exceptionally, she is enthroned while the emperor stands. The sages seated before her look up with muted gazes. When the converted doctors are thrown into the fire by the enraged Maxentius "not a hair of their heads or a shred of their garments suffered the least harm. . . ." An astonished elder shielding his face from the smoke pokes at the flames in disbelief, testing to see if what his eyes behold is indeed true. Do the banderoles that rise toward God hovering above, touched but seemingly unconsumed by the flames, represent the true Word, which like faith itself cannot be destroyed?

* *

Katerina virgo L inter philosophos et retores de remotis ab imperatore vocatos argumentorum vi confundit et ab ydolorum erroribus revocans ad Christum convertit, quos imperator igne succendens martirio coronavit.

By the force of her arguments, the virgin Catherine confounds 50 philosophers and rhetoricians summoned by the emperor from afar, and, turning them from the errors of idols, converts them to Christ. The emperor, casting them into the fire, crowned them with martyrdom.

16 (detail)

fol. 16v

Saint Catherine Cast into Prison

Once Maxentius realizes that he is unable to undermine Saint Catherine's faith, he has her thrown into prison. A servant brandishing a rod shoves the saint through a door so small that she must double over to enter. The conflicting scale arises out of the convention of showing buildings in their entirety. The structure does provide a counterweight to Maxentius, who holds his sword upright, and the compressed group of courtiers behind him. A kneeling petitioner, whose lower legs are impossibly contorted, holds up a sealed message that calls the emperor "to another part of the province. . . ." The principals throughout this pictorial cycle are full-figured and isolated by the contrasting colors of their voluminous robes. Pink, soft yellow, deep blue, and pale green dominate the palette.

* *

Tunc imperator, O virgo generosa tibi consule et secunda per reginam revocaberis et a punctis velut dea adoraberis. Cui virgo, desine taliaque scelus est cogitare me Christo sponsam tradidi, hamor et dilectio mea.

The emperor then [said], "O noble virgin, consider well, thou shalt be second only to the queen and adored by all as a goddess." To him the virgin [replied], "Cease, the very thought is a crime, I have surrendered myself as a bride to Christ, my beloved and my joy."

fol. 17

Saint Catherine Tied to a Column

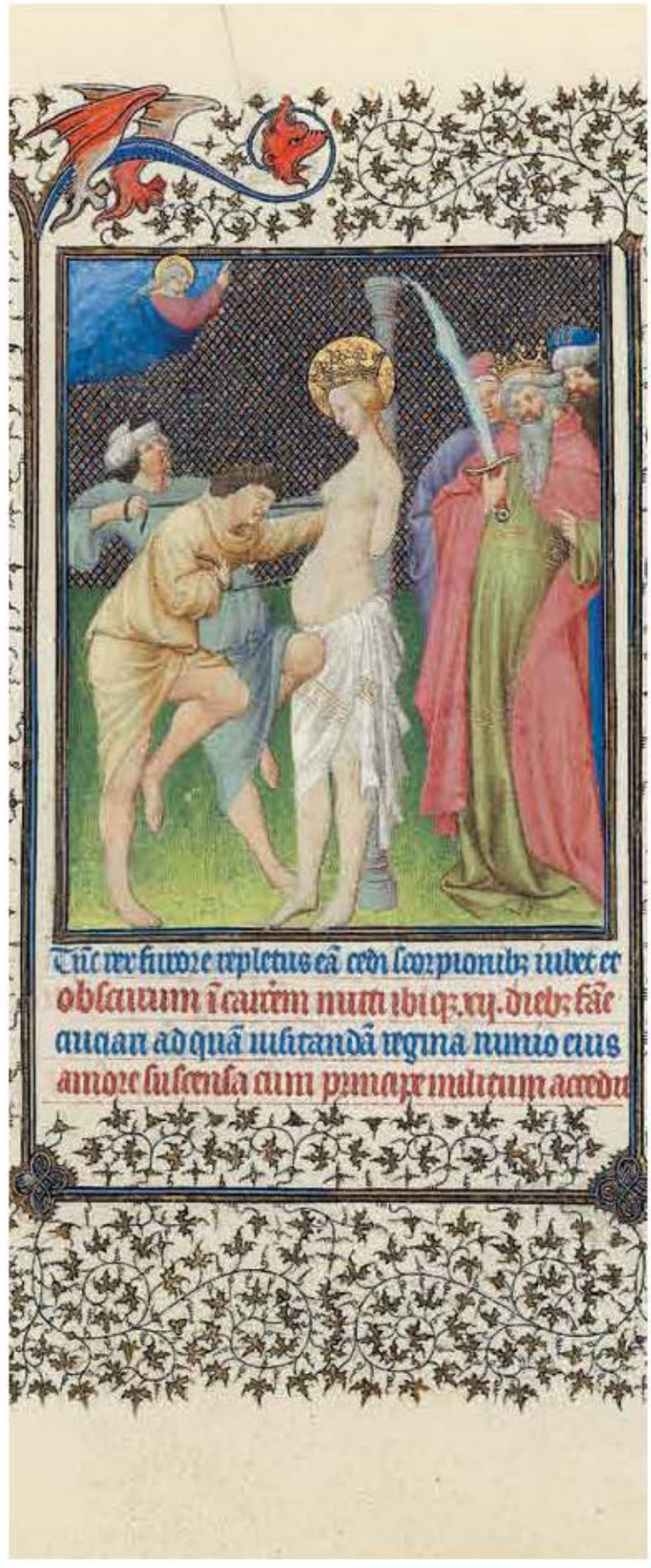
Stripped to the waist, Catherine is being tied to a column by two servants who raise their bent knees to gain further purchase on the bindings. The act of scourging is here decorously implied. The similarity to the *Flagellation* (fol. 132) is unmistakable, made more emphatic by the presence of a halo with which she is not consistently graced in this cycle. In this carefully balanced composition, Catherine's upright posture and stoicism contrast with the agitated motions of her tormenters. Her full-bellied figure presumably reflects the Northern ideal of female beauty rather than fecundity. According to *The Golden Legend,* this scene is out of sequence, as Catherine was severely "beaten with scorpions," and a scourge with metal barbs, before being imprisoned.

* *

Tunc rex furore repletus eam cedi scorpionibus jubet et obscurum in carcerem mitti ibique XII diebus fame cruciari. Ad quam visitandam regina nimio ejus amore suscensa cum principe militum accedit.

The king, filled with fury, ordered her to be given up to scourging, and sent her to a dark prison and tortured her there with hunger for 12 days. The queen, angered on account of her great love for her, came to visit her, together with the leader of the soldiers.

16v (detail)



17 (detail)

fol. 17v

Saint Catherine Tended by Angels

Maxentius's wife, the empress Faustina, persuades the chief guardsman to admit her to Saint Catherine's cell. There she beholds a host of heavenly angels ministering to Catherine's wounds with salves. The aura of white and light pink that surrounds the pale flesh of the saint underscores her purity. The guardsman holding the prison key wears an expression of awe. After a lengthy interview with Saint Catherine in which she learns of the eternal rewards of faith, Empress Faustina converts to Christianity. The intimacy of the scene is heightened by the tight focus, which edits out the lower part of the edifice.

* *

Que cum intrasset visa in extimabili claritate angelosque plagas virginis inungentes. Protractoque secum sermone usque ad medium noctis de primiis eternis vite ad Christi fidem conversa est.

On entering, [the queen] saw in a wondrous light the angels anointing the virgin's wounds. After discourse with her on the rewards of eternal life, drawn out until the middle of the night, she converted to the Christian faith.

fol. 18

Empress Faustina Is Beheaded

The text explains that the empress revealed her conversion only after she had witnessed angels destroying the wheels with blades that the emperor had devised to cut Catherine into shreds. The infuriated emperor ordered his wife's breasts to be torn off—this aspect of her demise is delicately omitted here—before beheading her. The destruction of the wheels, however, comes next in the present cycle, and it is unclear why the order has been reversed. The current scene takes place on a greensward with a rocky outcropping in the middle ground, partially obscuring a turreted structure behind. The empress has just placed her crown on the ground as the executioner raises his sword to dispatch her; Maxentius impassively witnesses the impending event, somewhat incongruously, from his throne. The executioner's sword and the empress's left arm describe the termini of a large unifying arc through the center of the composition; the apposing curves of their respective bodies bring dramatic tension to the scene. The outcropping and architecture counterbalance the mass of Maxentius's throne. The vivid blue, soft yellow, pink, and pale violet of the costumes enliven the figures against the muted greens of the setting.

* *

Celavitque se christianam donec vidit angelos rotas cum tanto impetu divellerent quod IIIIor milia gentilium mortua ceciderunt. Unde statim se manifestat qui eam statim decolari jubet.

[The queen] concealed her Christianity until she saw angels destroying the wheels with such force that four thousand pagans were slain. Immediately she revealed herself and [Maxentius] just as quickly ordered her beheaded.

17v (detail)

18 (detail)

fol. 18v

Angels Destroy the Wheels of Knives

The enraged Maxentius is advised to torture the recalcitrant saint with a wheel "studded with iron saws and sharp nails," the instrument that became her attribute. Saint Catherine, in regal attire, prays to the Lord above to save her from the deadly wheels, here only two rather than the four recounted in *The Golden Legend.* Three angels set about to destroy it, not with conventional swords, but with clawed hammers. Although the flying blades from the destruction were purported to have killed four thousand pagans, here three are killed before the wheel is sundered apart. Without defining features, the yellowish-green ground falls off on a diagonal, set against a finely tessellated background. The innovative foreshortening of the dead figure at right is highly unusual in painting of the period, but is a compositional device that the Limbourg brothers experiment with several times in the manuscript.

* *

Tunc prefectus furenti regi suadet rotas seris ferreis preparari ut virgo desecaretur. Tunc virgo Dominum deprecatur ut ad conversionem populi circunstantis machinam dissiparet et statim angeli de celo ruperunt.

Then the prefect persuaded the furious king to have wheels prepared with iron blades to cut up the virgin. Then the virgin prayed to the Lord to destroy the machine for the sake of converting the assembled people, and angels from heaven instantly destroyed it.

fol. 19

The Beheading of Porphyrius

Porphyrius, the emperor's chief guardsman, secretly had the body of the empress buried. Maxentius, however, suspects that this was the work of the executioner and orders him to be tortured, prompting Porphyrius to admit his guilt and at the same time confess his own conversion, occasioning Maxentius to order more executions. The executioner with his sword held aloft and the mountainous outcropping behind counterbalance Maxentius and his companions clustered behind him. In the foreground, corpses pile up, severed heads litter the ground, and deep-red blood pours forth. Maxentius, feeling betrayed by his trusted commander and his soldiers, grimaces with hurt and rends his garment in anguish. Emotions are portrayed here with a poignancy rarely encountered elsewhere in the manuscript.

* *

Rex autem furore ebrius Porfirium conversum et suos cum milites precipit omnis decolari et corpora canibus dimitti et virginem alloquitur dicens, aut diis sacrificabis bene consulta, aut te faciam decollari.

The king, therefore, mad with anger, ordered the converted Porphyrius and his soldiers all beheaded and the bodies cast to the dogs, and he addressed the virgin saying, "Consider well, either thou shalt sacrifice to the gods or I will have thee beheaded."

18v (detail)

19 (detail)

fol. 19v

Catherine Is Beheaded

Having concluded that nothing will coerce Catherine to abandon her faith, Maxentius orders her execution. The structuring of the composition essentially mirrors that of the previous illumination; indeed, the executioner appears to be the same. Although the counterbalancing of a group with a single figure against a peaked outcropping in the landscape is employed throughout the manuscript, it is rarely with the control seen here. The skillfully calculated balance of the composition anchors the finality of the act. The saint's hair naturalistically falls forward over her face revealing the nape of her neck. The coiled stance of the executioner, his shirttails tied back to give greater freedom of movement and his sword paralleling the profile of the mountain behind, springs with motion. The determined look on Maxentius's face finds response in the more compassionate expression of the companion next to him who, through his gestures, seems to deliver his counsel with apprehension. The subtle gradations of the green and yellow tones throughout the landscape are exceptional.

* *

Cui Katerina, fac que concepisti. Tunc decolari eam jubet. Que cum ad locum ducta fuisset erectis in celum oculis oravit, dicens, O spes et salus credencium, O decus et gloria virginum, Jhesu rex bone, miserere mei.

Catherine [replied] to him, "Do what thou hast resolved." He ordered that she should be beheaded. Once led to the place, she raised her eyes to heaven and prayed, saying, "O hope and salvation of believers, O honor and glory of virgins, Jesus, good king, have mercy upon me."

fol. 20

Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to Mount Sinai

Four rocky pinnacles describe the barren mountainous wilderness of the Sinai. Nestled between two peaks is a blocky structure of large gray stones, the severe walls of which are relieved only by two stringcourses. A dirt road leads to this monastic compound, and a monk or hermit dressed in a hooded brown robe sits at the entrance. At left, a group of pilgrims in broad-brimmed hats, one clearly equipped with a staff and scrip, disappear behind a mountain on their way to the monastery. Above are fluttering angels bearing their precious cargo. The scene effectively conveys the appearance of the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, and the artist may well have based the composition on verbal descriptions or drawings. The duke would have had some familiarity with it as contemporaries had traveled there, including his son-in-law, the comte d'Eu. Both the duke and his brother Charles V had a piece of Saint Catherine's stone tomb in their collections of relics. This depiction may be the first visual portrait of a famous pilgrimage site.[2]

* *

Angeli autem corpus ejus accipientes ab illo loco usque ad montem Synay itinere plusquam dierum XXa deduxerunt et ibidem sepeliverunt. Ex cujus ossibus indesinenter oleum manat, infirmitates sanans.

Angels, however, receiving her body, transported it from that place to Mount Sinai, a journey of more than 20 days, and there they buried it. Oil flowing continuously from her bones heals the sick.

1. All quotations are from *The Golden Legend* 1969.
2. See Meiss and Beatson 1974, fol. 20.

19v (detail)

20 (detail)

Readings from the Gospels and Prayers to the Virgin

By about 1400 the text proper of Books of Hours usually began with excerpts from the New Testament Gospels and was intended as the readings for four of the major Church feasts: Christmas, the Annunciation, Epiphany, and the Ascension.[1] A portrait of the appropriate Evangelist, typically depicted at a desk or otherwise writing, introduced each reading. The scholarly imagery underscores the role of each Evangelist as author, from whence the authority of the text that follows derives. The first reading is from the Gospel according to Saint John (1:1–14) and begins with the well-known passage: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God." The illumination of John and all but the very end of his text are missing in the *Belles Heures*. Those of Luke, Matthew, and Mark follow John's text, in that order. Their symbols, the zoomorphs, a winged bull, an angel, and a winged lion, respectively, accompany the Evangelists. The Limbourg brothers inadvertently reversed the images of Luke and Matthew, so the author portraits and the texts of these two readings do not match.

The Gospel of Saint John served as an introduction to the entire Book of Hours. The text in the *Belles Heures* is taken from the first chapter, which equates the Word with God and alludes to John the Baptist bearing witness to Jesus Christ as the Son of God and light of the world, through whom man would be redeemed. This sets the stage for the Incarnation celebrated at Christmas (December 25). The reading from Luke, taken from the first chapter, describes the Annunciation to the Virgin, revealing that she shall bear the son of God and ends with the familiar words of the archangel Gabriel's greeting: "Hail Mary, full of grace" (*Ave Maria, gracia plena*). This, then, was the reading for the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25). The reading from Matthew, from the second chapter, recounts the arrival of the three Magi, or Kings, their interview with Herod, who is disturbed by the prophecy of a Messiah, their adoration of the Christ Child, and their summary departure, having been warned in a dream not to return to Herod. This was the reading for Epiphany (January 6). And finally, the reading from Mark, taken from chapter sixteen, describes Christ's appearance to his disciples after he has risen from the dead. He rebukes them for doubting his Resurrection, admonishes them to preach the Gospel throughout the world, and then ascends to heaven to sit at the right hand of God. This was the reading for the Feast of the Ascension, a moveable feast aligned to Easter.

Quire IV

fol. 22

[The following ending lines are all that remains of the reading from the Gospel according to Saint John.]
et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre, plenum gracie et veritatis.

. . . and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. (John 1:14)

Saint Matthew

The Evangelist rests on one knee before two barren pinnacles writing on a scroll supported on his raised knee, as his symbol, a winged man, hovers above holding a scroll symbolizing the divine Word. The triangular form of the Evangelist garbed in a fawn robe and a brilliant ultramarine mantle echoes the shape of the mountain peak at the right background, while the angel against a tessellated background conforms to the triangular form of the upper right corner of the miniature.

* *

Initium sancti evvangelii secundum Lucam Gloria tibi Domine qui natus es etc. In illo tempore missus est an / /gelus Gabriel a Deo in civitatem Galilee cui nomen Nazareth ad virginem desponsaram viro cui nomen erat Joseph de domo David et nomen virginis Maria. Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit. Ave Maria, gracia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus.

The beginning of the Holy Gospel according to Luke. Glory to thee, O Lord, who were born, etc. At that time, the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a town of Galilee called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph, of the house of David, and the virgin's name was Mary. And when the angel had come to her, he said, "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women." (Luke 1:26–28)

22 (detail)

23 (detail)

fol. 23

Saint Luke

The Evangelist in a blue robe sits on a massive ornamented chair equipped with a writing board. He is set in an elaborate structure with open arcades on two sides and a barrel-vaulted interior with a double-lancet tracery window and a blind dado. The pattern of the orange-red and pale blue tiled floor is echoed in the tessellated background. The Evangelist's symbol, a winged bull, sits at the feet of the author. The pale earth colors of the architecture set off the intense blues of the saint's robe and the tessellated background.

* *

In illo tempore, cum natus esset Jhesus in Bethleem Jude in diebus Herodis regis. Ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Jherosolimam, dicentes, ubi est qui natus est rex Judeorum? Vidimus enim stellam ejus // in oriente et venimu[s] adorare eum.

In the time when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea, in the days of King Herod, the Magi came from the East to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is he who is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East and have come to worship him." (Matt. 2:1)

fol. 24

Saint Mark

Within a miniature structure with a blue vaulted ceiling and double-lancet windows with plate tracery, the Evangelist, seen through the open arcade and dressed in a pale violet robe and a white cap, is seated on a massive chair furnished with a writing board. In the side aisle of the main building vessel, the saint's symbol, a winged lion, sits at the author's feet. Intense ultramarine sets off the pale green of the architecture and the rose pink of the Evangelist's robe. Pink and pale green tiles enliven the floor, and the recessive lines add spatial dimension to the interior.

* *

In illo tempore recumbentibus undecim discipulis aparuit illis Jhesus et exprobavit incredulitatem illorum et duriciam cordis quia hiis qui viderant eum resurrexisse non crediderant, et // dixit eis, euntes universum mundum predicare evvangelium omni creature.

At that time he appeared to the eleven as they were at table, and he scolded them for their lack of faith and hardness of heart, in that they had not believed those who had seen him after he had risen. And he said to them, "Go into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature." (Mark 16:14)

[Two extended prayers to the Virgin known by their opening words *Obsecro te* (I beseech of thee) and *O intemerata* (O unspotted) were among the most popular optional texts, and by the later Middle Ages both appear in almost all Books of Hours. Whereas their placement was unfixed, they often, as they do in the *Belles Heures*, follow the readings from the Gospels and precede the Hours of the Virgin. Characteristic of devotional practices of the time, particularly those associated with the cult of the Virgin, both prayers are delivered in the first person and underscore the direct and intense relationship the faithful strove for with the Mother of God. *Obsecro te* begins with an enumeration of the Virgin's virtues, followed by an accounting of the joys she experienced through the Incarnation, a lamenting of the terrible pain and sorrow she suffered in the death of Christ, and finally by an intense plea for strengthening and uplifting body and soul. *O intemerata* follows a similar structure and tone, but focuses on the glories of Christ and beseeches the Virgin to intercede with him on behalf of the supplicant.]

fol. 24v

Obsecro te Domina, sancta Maria, mater Dei, pietate plenissima, summi regis filia, mater gloriosissima, mater orphanorum, consolacio desolatorum, via errancium, salus in te sperancium. Virgo // ante partum, virgo partu, virgo post partum. Fons misericordie, fons salutis et gracie, fons pietatis et leticie, fons consolacionis et indulgencie. Et per illam sanctam inestimabilem leticiam qua exultavit spiritus tuus in illa hora quando tibi per Gabrielem archangelium annunciatus et conceptus est Filius Dei. Et per illud divinum misterium quod tunc operatus est in te Spiritus Sanctus. Et per illam sanctam inestimabilem pietatem, graciam, misericordiam, amo- [fol. 25] *rem et humilitatem per quas filius tuus descendit accipere humanam carnem in venerabilissimo utero tuo.*

I beseech of thee, my Lady, Holy Mary, mother of God, most full of kindness, daughter of the sovereign king and mother most glorious, mother of orphans, consolation of the desolate, road of the wanderers, salvation of those who hope in thee, virgin before birth, virgin in birth, virgin after birth, fount of mercy, fount of salvation and of grace, fount of kindness and joy, fount of consolation and of forgiveness. And by that holy, inestimable joy in which thy spirit rejoiced at that hour when the son of God was revealed unto thee by the archangel Gabriel and was conceived. And by that divine mystery that in that hour the Holy Spirit performed. And by that holy, inestimable kindness, grace, mercy, love [fol. 25] and humility by which thy son came down to take on human flesh in thy most venerable womb.

Et per illam sanctissimam compassionem et accerbissimum cordis dolorem quem habuisti quando Filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum, ante crucem nudatum et in ipsa levatum vidisti, pendentem, crucifixum, vulneratum, sicientem, aponi clamantem audistim, et morientem vidisti. Et per quinque vulnera Filii tui, et per contractionem viscerum suorum pre nimio dolore vulnerum, et per dolorem quem habuisti quando vidisti eum vulnerari.

And by that most holy compassion and most bitter grief of heart thou hadst when thou didst behold thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ, stripped before his cross and lifted up upon it, hanging, crucified, wounded, thirsting, crying out for [drink] and thou didst behold him dying. And through the five wounds of thy son. And by the shrinking of his bowels from the great pain of his wounds. And by the grief that thou hadst when thou didst see him wounded.

[fol. 26] *Et veram pacem spiritualem et corporalem michi tribuat, bonam spem et fidem, castitatem, humilitatem, pacienciam subministret. Quinque sensus corporis mei regat et protegat. Septem opera misericordie complere me faciat et duodecim articulos fidei et decem precepta legis firmiter tenere et credere me faci//at. Et a septem peccatis criminalibus me liberet et defendat usque in finem. Et in novissimis meis diebus ostende michi faciem tuam et annuncies michi diem et horam obitus mei. Oracionem, supplicem exaudias et suscipias et vitam eternam michi tribuas, audi et exaudi me, dulcissima Maria, mater Dei et misericordie. Amen. Ave Maria.*

[fol. 26] And may it [the Holy Spirit] grant true peace of body and of soul, and good hope and faith, and give me chastity, humility, and patience. May it rule and protect the five senses of my body, and make me perform the seven works of mercy, and may it make me firmly grasp and believe the twelve articles of the faith and the ten commandments of the law. May it free and defend me from the seven deadly sins until my end. And in my last days may it show me thy face, and reveal unto me the day and hour of my death. Hear this prayer of supplication and receive me and grant me everlasting life. Hear me and listen to me, most sweet Mary, mother of God and of mercy. Amen. Hail Mary.

24 (detail)

fol. 26v

Aracoeli (*Altar of Heaven*)

The half-length Virgin holding the Christ Child swaddled in her mantle rises from a crescent moon supported by seraphim; above, seraphim lower a crown onto her head. The vision is set against a tessellated background with God appearing above and the earth below. According to legend, the Tiburtine Sibyl led the emperor Augustus to the Campidoglio in Rome, the present-day site of the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, where she pointed to a vision of the Virgin and Child and prophesized the birth of Christ. Jean de France favored the subject, as he had a particular interest in Augustus in whose reign Christ was born. The legend reports that the vision appeared "in circulo iuxta solem" (in a circle beside the sun), but the image was conflated with the description in the Apocalypse (12:1): "Et signum magnum apparuit in caelo: Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus eius" (And a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet). The Limbourg brothers here omitted the conventional rays of the sun, an iconographic elision that they corrected when revisiting the subject in the *Très Riches Heures.*

* *

O intemerata et in eternum benedicta, singularis atque incomparabilis virgo, Dei genitrix, Maria, gratissimum Dei templum. Spiritus Sancti sacrarium, janua regni celorum, per quam post // Deum totus vivit orbis terrarum. De te enim Dei Filius verus et omnipotens Deus suam sanctissimam fecit matrem, assumens de te illam sanctissimam carnem per quam mundus qui perditus erat salvatus est. Cujus preciosissimo sanguine re- . . . [fol. 27] *demptus est* . . .

O unspotted and eternally blessed, O unique and incomparable virgin, Mother of God, O Mary, the most pleasing temple of God and sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, gate of the kingdom of heaven, through whom the whole earth lives following God. From thee, the Son of God, the true, almighty God, made his most sacred mother, taking from thee his most sacred flesh, through whom the world which had been lost was saved. By whose precious blood . . . [fol. 27] [the world] is redeemed . . .

fol. 26v

Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl

Augustus, crowned and wearing a blue mantle with a sword at his side, kneels before an altar covered with an orange-red cloth supporting an open book. The Tiburtine Sibyl, standing at his side, places one hand on his shoulder and points up to the vision with the other. The common pattern of tessellation links the scene of the witnesses with that of the vision.

[fol. 28] . . . *et quociens offendi piisssimum Filium tuum, quociens letificavi demones pessimos, merui eterna supplicia tociens, mea culpa, mea culpa, mea gravissima culpa. Ideo te deprecor, Dei genitrix et perpetua virgo Maria, ut tu impetres michi indulgenciam et remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum quecumque alia feci ab ipso Filio // tuo a quo bona cuncta procedunt. Qui eciam illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. Fac ut ipse illuminet mentem meam luce gracie, inflammas eam igne suavissimi et sanctissimi amoris tui, et faciat me seipsum cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto unum solum Deum adorare in spiritu et veritate, seipsum super omnia diligere et timere et eidem firmiter adherere, sua mandata custodire, peccata vitare, suam sanctam passionem venerari.* . . .

[fol. 28] . . . and so often offended thy most kindly son, and so often given joy to most evil devils, and so often deserved eternal punishment, through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault. Therefore I beseech thee, mother of God, eternally virgin Mary, to obtain for me forgiveness and remission of all my sins and any others I have committed, from thy son, from whom all good things proceed, who also enlightens every man that comes into this world. Grant that he may enlighten my mind with the light of his grace, kindle in it the flame of thy delightful and most sacred love, and grant me to worship him with the Father and the Holy Spirit, one true God in spirit and in truth, and love and fear him above all things, and strictly observe his commands and keep them, and avoid sins, imitate his holy Passion. . . .

1. For a more detailed discussion of the readings from the Gospels, see Wieck in Baltimore 1988, pp. 55–59, 158–59; see also Wieck in New York 1997, pp. 39–40.

26v

The Hours of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Institution of the Great Litany

The Hours of the Virgin (fols. 30–65v)

The Hours of the Virgin, or more properly the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is the bedrock text of a Book of Hours. It is divided into eight sections, or Hours: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline, each comprising a combination of orations or prayers, psalms, lessons, credos or capitula, hymns, Te Deum, canticles and sequences of brief interjections, usually only a few words, phrases or sentences identified as versicles, canticles, responses, antiphons, benedictions, and absolutions.[1] The text for Matins is by far the longest. Each Hour begins with a series of versicles and responses, which repeat with little variation: "Domine, labia mea aperies." (O Lord, open my lips.) "Et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam." (And my mouth will tell forth thy praise.) "Deus in adjutorium meum intende." (God, make speed to help me.) "Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina." (Lord, make haste to help me.) The opening Psalm (94)[2] declares the greatness of God, whereas the first hymn glorifies the purity of the Virgin and the divinity of the Incarnation, thus setting the tone for the entire Office. These are followed in Matins alone by a nocturn, so called because monks originally recited it in the predawn hours. But as a different series of psalms are read on different days of the week, three series or nocturns are given: Psalms 8, 18, and 23 to be read on Sundays, Mondays, and Thursdays; Psalms 44, 45, and 86 on Tuesdays and Fridays; and Psalms 95, 96, and 97 on Wednesdays and Saturdays.[3] Each series is introduced and concluded by antiphons and lessons that praise and glorify the Virgin. To convey the content and tone of language in the Office of the Virgin, Matins is outlined below with excerpts of the text.

Traditionally each Hour was introduced by an image drawn from the principal events in the life of the Virgin surrounding the infancy of Christ, beginning with the Annunciation to introduce Matins. The illuminations in the *Belles Heures* follow the standard sequence—the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple, for Matins through Nones, respectively, but deviate somewhat in Vespers (included here is the Massacre of the Innocents—often avoided because of its violent nature—instead of the Flight into Egypt) and in Compline (the Flight into Egypt is selected instead of the Coronation of the Virgin, or alternatively the Death of the Virgin or the Assumption into Heaven).

Quire v

fol. 30

The Annunciation (*Matins*)

The interior setting of this scene is framed for the viewer by a double arcade, the central column of which divides the composition in two; this is a compositional formula that the Limbourgs returned to seven other times in the manuscript. The interior space is given further definition by the blind arcading in the background and the barrel-vaulted ceiling that spans the intervening space. Although physically close there is a degree of separation underscored by the column that visually isolates the two figures. Gabriel looks not at the Virgin; rather, he focuses on the descending Holy Spirit, whereas her eyes are modestly cast downward as though she has yet to become fully aware of his presence. Emphasis is thus placed not on the appearance of Gabriel and his greeting but on the moment of the Incarnation. The figures are therefore portrayed as somewhat compartmentalized and self-absorbed. There is a static grandeur to the composition, the figures motionless, remote, and introspective, qualities that appear only in the earliest illuminations. God the Father accompanied by angels appears above in a balcony supported by a caryatid. The lush border of acanthus leaves encircling prophets and musical angels is further enlivened by cavorting putti, swans, and bears. The duke's arms (*France ancien*) appear twice. The sumptuousness and vitality of the inhabited border seem, in contrast, almost incongruous.

* *

Domine labia mea aperies et os meum annun // ciabit laudem tuam Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will tell forth thy praise. God, come to my aid.

fol. 30v

Venite exultemus, Domino jubilemus Deo salutari nostro preocupemus faciem ejus in confessione et in psalmis jubilemus ei. Ave Maria. Quoniam Deus magnus Dominus et rex magnus super // omnes deos quam non repellet Dominus plebem suam quia in manu ejus sunt omnes fines terre et altitudines moncium ipse conspicit. Dominus tecum. Quoniam ipsius est mare et ipse fecit illud et aridam fundaverunt manus ejus, venite adoremus et procidamus ante Deum, ploremus coram Domino qui fecit nos quia ipse est Dominus Deus noster, nos autem populus ejus et oves pascue ejus. . . .

[Psalm 94] Come let us praise the Lord with joy, let us joyfully sing to God our Savior, let us come before his presence with thanksgiving and make a joyful noise to him with psalms. Hail Mary. For

30

the Lord is a great God, and a great king above all gods, for the Lord did not turn away his people because in his hand are all the ends of the earth and the heights of the mountains are his. The Lord be with thee. For the sea is his, and he made it, and his hands formed the dry land. Come, let us adore and fall down before God, and weep before the Lord that made us. For he is the Lord our God, and we the people of his pasture and the sheep of his hand. . . .

fol. 31

Ymnus. O quam glorifica luce coruscas, stirpis Davitice, regia proles, sublimis residens, Virgo Maria, supra celigenas etheris omnes. Tu cum virgineo mater honore, angelorum Domino pectoris aulam sacris visceribus casta parasti, natus hinc Deus est corpore Christus, [fol. 31v] *quem cunctus venerans orbis adorat, cui nunc rite genuflectitur omne, a quo nos petimus te veniente, abjectis tenebris, gaudia lucis.*

Hymn. O, with what glorious light thou shinest, David's royal child. O Virgin Mary, residing in the clouds on high, above all the people of heaven. O chaste mother, thou, with virginal honor, providest the hall of thy heart to the Lord of angels out of thy holy womb, from whence God is born in the body of Christ, [fol. 31v] whom the whole world reverent adores, to whom all knees are duly bent, from whom we, from utter darkness, seek, with thy help, the joys of light.

[The first nocturn that follows comprises three Psalms—8, 18, and 23—which in turn are followed by lessons one through three, each introduced selectively by an antiphon, versicle, response, blessing, and/or absolution. Passages of the first Psalm and the first lesson are given here:]

fol. 31v

In primo nocturno. Antiphona Exaltata es. Psalmus Domine, Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa ter//ra. Quoniam elevata est magnificencia tua super celos. Ex ore infancium et lactancium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et ultorem. Quoniam videbo celos tuos opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas que tu fundasti. Quid est homo quid memores ejus aut Filius hominis quoniam visitas eum. Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis [fol. 32]. *gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum. Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus oves et boves universas insuper et peccora campi, volucres celi et pisces maris qui perambulant semittas maris. Domine, Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra.*

First nocturn. Antiphon. Thou art exalted. Psalm [8]. O Lord, our Lord, how admirable is thy name in the whole earth! For thy magnificence is elevated above the heavens. Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, that thou mayest destroy the enemy and the avenger. For I will behold thy heavens, the works of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast founded. What is man that thou art mindful of him? Or the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the angels, [fol. 32] thou hast crowned him with glory and honor, and hast set him over the works of thy hands. Thou hast subjected all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen, all the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and fishes of the sea, and those that walk the paths of the sea. O Lord, our Lord, how admirable is thy name in the whole earth.

fol. 33v

Surge. Lectio prima. Beatissima Virgo Maria misericorditer actura pro nobis surge et amplectere misericordiam redemptoris, da preces pro no // bis quos cernis offensos ante oculos conditoris. Tu autem Domine, miserere nostri.

First lesson. Arise, most blessed Virgin Mary, and mercifully act for us, arise and embrace the mercy of our redeemer, pray for us whom thou hast sifted before the offended eyes of our creator. But thou, O Lord, have mercy on us.

[The second and third nocturns [fols. 34v–40v] likewise comprise three Psalms each—44, 45, 86 and 95, 96, 97—followed by the fourth through sixth and seventh through ninth lessons, respectively. The lessons typically beseech the consolation, mercy, and intercession of the Virgin.]

fol. 39v

Lectio VII O beata Maria quis tibi digne valeat jura graciarum et laudum preconia impendere, que singulari tuo assensu mundo succurristi perdito. Quas tibi laudes fragilitas humani generis persolvet. Que solo tuo commercio recuperandi aditum invenit. Accipe itaque quascumque exules et quascumque meritis tuis impares graciarum actiones et cum susceperis vota culpas no//stras orando excusa. Tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri. Deo gracias.

7th lesson. O blessed Mary, who could worthily elucidate all the justness of the graces and the praises of thy merits, by thine unique acceptance thou hast brought help to the ruined world. What praises shall the weakness of the human race recite to thee, which by thine intervention alone hath found the way to its recovery? Accept therefore whatever thanksgiving we offer in our exile, however unequal to thy merits, and when thou hast received our prayers, excuse our faults by thine intercession. But thou, O Lord, have mercy on us. Thanks be to God.

[The final verse of Matins declares the Immaculate Conception and birth of Christ.]

fol. 40v

Versus Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus te esse affatum, uterum tuum de Spiritu Sancto credimus impregnatum, erubescat Judeus infelix qui dicit Christum ex Joseph semine esse natum. Dum // virgo Deum et hominem genuisti et post partum virgo inviolata permansisti. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Dum virgo Deum et hominem genuisti et post partum virgo inviolata permansisti.

Versicle. We know that the archangel Gabriel was the messenger of God, and we believe that thy womb was filled by the spirit of God, let the unhappy Jew blush who says Christ was born of the seed of Joseph. For as a virgin, thou gavest birth to God and man, and virgin after the birth thou has remained inviolate. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. Virgin thou gavest birth to God and man, and virgin after birth thou hast remained inviolate.

[The rubrication at the end of the text on fol. 40v indicates that a canticle to Saints Ambrose and Augustine intervenes between Matins and Lauds. It is written in a blue ink that appears to have been added by a scribe after the final ordering of the text to ease nonsequential transitions. The text is in fact a te deum extolling the Lord God.]

Secuntur laudes et primo canticus Ambrosii et Augustini.

First a canticle for Saints Ambrose and Augustine, followed by Lauds.

fol. 41

Saints Ambrose and Augustine (Te Deum)

Both Church fathers are arrayed in full episcopal vestments—Ambrose wearing a blue cope and Augustine a pale yellow one—and flank an altar in a vaulted chapel, jointly holding an open service book. Rays of divine light descend from the vaulting keystone. The composition is rigidly symmetrical and the two saints are near mirror images.

* *

Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur. Te eternum Patrem, omnis terra veneratur. Tibi omnes angeli, tibi celi et universe // potestates, tibi cherubin et seraphin, incessabili voce proclamant. Sanctus, sanctus. Sanctus Dominus, Deus Sabbaoth. Pleni sunt celi et terra majestatis glorie tue. Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus, te prophetarum laudabilis numerus, te martirum candidatus, laudat exercitus. Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia, Patrem immense [fol. 41v] *majestatis, venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium, sanctum quoque paraclitum Spiritum.*

We praise thee, O God, and we confess thee to be the Lord. Thou art the Father everlasting, all the earth worships thee. To thee all the angels, to thee the heavens and all power, to thee the cherubim and seraphim cry out with unceasing voices, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. The heavens and the earth are full of the majesty of thy glory." To thee the glorious choir of the apostles, to thee the worthy company of the prophets, to thee the white-robed army of the martyrs offers praise. To thee the holy Church confesses throughout the world, Father of immeasurable [fol. 41v] majesty, thy worshipful and true and only Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.

[The rubrication at the end of the text—*secuntur Laudes*—states that Lauds follows. Beginning with the usual petitions, Lauds commences with a series of four Psalms—92, 99, 62, and 66—not rubricated—and then a passage from the Old Testament (Daniel 3:57–88). The text continues with three more Psalms—148, 149, and 150—followed by a hymn and a reading from the New Testament (Luke 1:68–79). Lauds ends with an antiphon and three prayers that beseech rightful instruction of the heart through the Holy Spirit, everlasting joy through the intercession of the Virgin, and the continuing enlightenment of the Church.]

41 (detail)

Deus in ad
iutoriū
meum
intende.
Domine ad adiu
uandum me festina.
Gloria pī et filio
et spiritui sancto.

42v

fol. 42v

The Visitation (*Lauds*)

The Virgin stands before a portal as Saint Elizabeth approaches with hand outstretched toward her cousin large with child. Both are draped in flowing blue mantles, the Virgin in a pale green robe, hardly distinguishable from the landscape, and Elizabeth in a striking muted pink robe with a white headcloth draped over her shoulder and arm. Perhaps contemplating the message conveyed by the book she holds, the Virgin appears to gaze beyond her cousin. The group is set off by a triangular peak that extends imperceptibly from the foreground. Rising up in the middle of the picture plane, it forms a barrier to the pale earth color of the mountainous background and muted grays of the diminutive walled fortresses. A spring issues forth from the verdant near mountain, perhaps a reference to the freshwater source said to be near the house of Zachariah where the two women met.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

[Prime opens with a hymn followed by three Psalms—1, 2, and 5—and concludes with a series of versicles and responses and three prayers, the last of which repeats that at the end of Lauds. This abbreviated form is likewise followed in Terce, Sext, and Nones.]

eus in ad
iutorium
meum in
tende.
omine ad adiu
uandum me festina
loria patri et filio et
spiritui sancto.

48v

fol. 48v

The Nativity (Prime)

The Virgin, sitting on the ground and leaning against a wattle fence, holds the Christ Child in her lap and is sheltered by no more than an open-framed shed with rafters showing through the holes in the thatched roof. One hole provides access for the rays of the divine star to lend glory to the Child. Echoing the comportment of the Virgin, Joseph, in the near left corner, leans against the border frame; the position of his knees repeats that of the Virgin. Near his feet a roaring fire heats a tripod pot. Against the right frame two shepherds—one kneeling with a musical instrument in hand and the other standing behind, pointing—are witnesses to this miraculous scene. The ox and ass lie behind a carved stone manger whose grandeur seems incongruous with its modest surrounds. Is this an allusion to the sarcophagus from which Christ later resurrected? The pale green ground darkens as it recedes to the middle ground and rises to two earthy pinnacles in the upper corners. A shepherd disappears behind one as a herd of sheep dots the mountainside. The curious dispersal of the figures to the periphery of the picture plane leaves the center of the composition uninhabited. Undoubtedly executed early in the production, this illumination lacks the compositional coherence soon mastered by the Limbourg brothers.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 52

The Annunciation to the Shepherds (*Terce*)

Two shepherds stand in the middle ground, slightly off center, and lift their heads upward to view the trio of angels. One shepherd, seen from the rear, stands with his weight off axis, his feet crossed, and leaning in his imbalance on a staff. His head, of which we see only the top, is dramatically foreshortened. His companion, seen in three-quarter frontal, legs akimbo, likewise gazes upward. Both shield their eyes from the heavenly brilliance. The greensward on which they stand is pale green in the foreground and slowly darkens as it rises to a hilly peak in the middle ground. Surrounding the figures are scattered sheep, singly, in pairs, and in small groups. A dog lies near a wood and a goat rises on its hind legs to graze on the branch of a tree. Underdrawing indicates changes in the positioning of many of these creatures. Clumps of impossibly diminutive trees suggest woodlands. In the background an earth-toned barren hill supports more sheep, and towers and spires of a cityscape rise behind. The strong diagonals created by the rows of trees, the profiles of the fore- and middle-ground landscapes, and the conforming line of buildings seem to fracture the landscape into separate geometric forms. The improbable stance of the shepherd seen from the back and the lyrical if disjointed nature of the landscape contrasts with the strictly symmetrical positioning of the trio of singing angels above; their voices and arrangement are seemingly bound in a perfect harmony wanting in the earthly realm below.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

52

Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.

54v

fol. 54v

The Adoration of the Magi (*Sext*)

The Virgin is seated, slightly extending out of the open end of the wattle-walled shelter, firmly holding the Christ Child on her lap. Partially enveloped in her blue mantle, the two figures appear to merge. The three Kings, triangularly arranged, kneel before them. Two kings are removing their crowns; the elder, white-haired king has already placed his before the holy group, an iconographic detail that persists in Northern art throughout the fifteenth century. Joseph, in sharp profile, kneels at lower left, his draped outline conforming to the corner. The composition is based on a series of strong parallel obliques defined by the thatched roof of the shed, the hill in the middle ground with a kneeling shepherd behind which riders emerge, and the far hill surmounted by a formidable city. The opposing and nearly perpendicular line created by the kneeling foreground figures arrests these diagonals. Like the Nativity, the figures are largely arranged about the periphery of the picture plane, leaving something of a void at the center of the composition. The rich and vibrant colors of the kings' costumes are set off by the pale greenish brown earth tones. The richly deep lapis blue of the Virgin's robe visually anchors the focal point of the composition by isolating the Christ Child.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, hasten to help me. O Lord, come to my aid. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 57

The Presentation in the Temple (Nones)

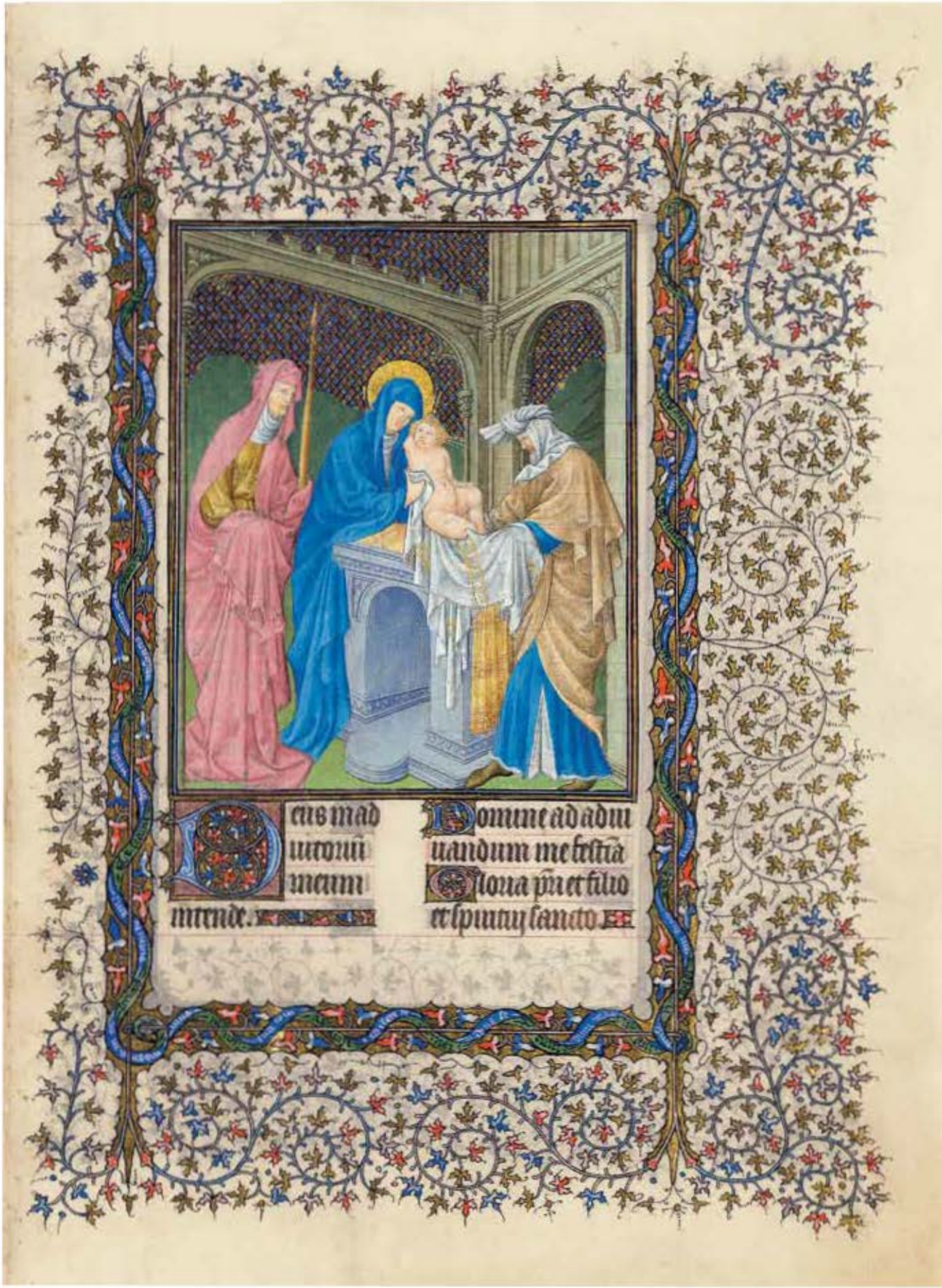
The Virgin, with the assistance of the high priest, places the sturdy Christ Child on the altar shaped as an aedicule. Both cover their hands with the swaddling cloth. Saint Anne, holding a large taper, looks on. The scene takes place in a skeletal outline of a temple structure. The deep landscapes and the episodic treatments of the three previous scenes are abandoned. Visible through the dematerialized walls is a hilly landscape depicted monochromatically in a dense green with almost no definition of the topography. A tessellated pattern fills in the space above the silhouette of the landscape. The composition is dominated by the looming figures of the principals, dispensing with ancillary figures and landscape details. The drapery folds enveloping the three principal figures are exceptionally complex and sculptural. The space and the setting are ambiguous in their lack of detail, yet the economy of the composition underscores the dramatic import of the event. The elaborate border incorporates a banderole inscribed with text taken from Psalm 50 (see pp. 65–67).

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

[Vespers is enlarged by a series of five rather than three Psalms—121–125—followed by a hymn and a magnificat (Luke 1:46–55) erroneously rubricated "Psalmus David."]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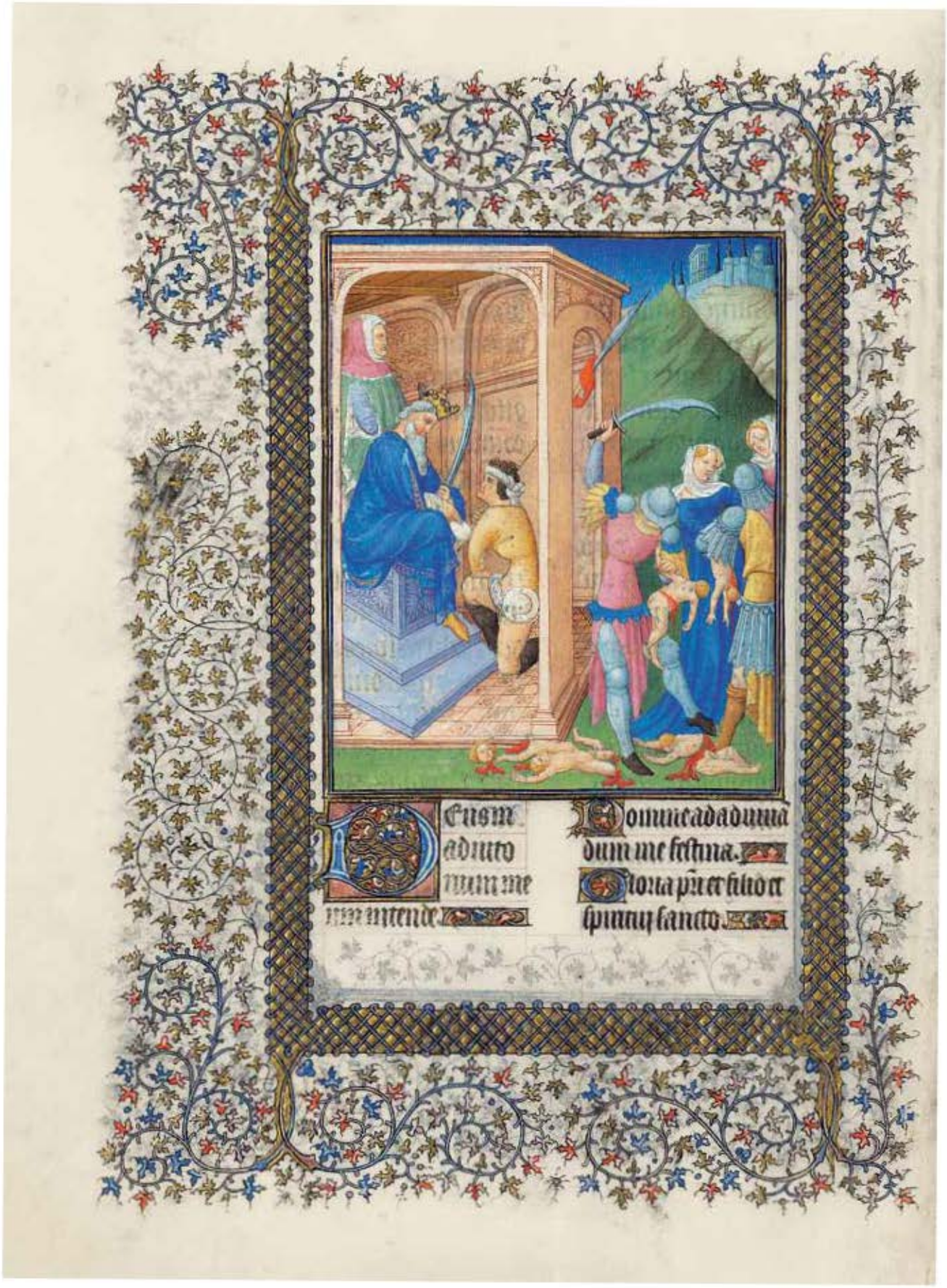
37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Domine ad adjuva
dum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et
spiritui sancto

59v

fol. 59v

The Massacre of the Innocents (Vespers)

Herod, holding a sword, sits cross-legged on a raised plinth. With an adviser standing behind him, Herod issues orders to a kneeling servant who holds a banner on a lance so tall that it projects through the arcade opening to the exterior. Although the structure is meant to represent Herod's palace, the confines of the picture field force a reduction to miniature. The array of seemingly contradictory orthogonals enhances the notion of suggested rather than depicted space. The viewer is privy to this interior scene through the expediency of a dissolved wall. Barely outside the structure the orders are being executed. The compound scene conveys a sense of narrative action. Two soldiers in armor execute male babies as the horrified mothers look on. The hacked corpses of three other infant victims lie on the ground. Space limitations force the two figures on the right to disappear partially behind the border as though the viewer were witnessing the scene through a window that is too small. The green triangular hillside in the middle ground serves as a veritable backdrop for this grisly scene. In the background a walled city is perched atop a barren mountain. The brilliant lapis blue of the king's and one of the mothers' robes focuses the sequential actions while an alternating pastel palette of mauves, soft violets, light blues, and pale yellows inextricably links the two.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fols. 62–62v

Psalmus David Magnificat anima mea Dominum, et exultavit spiritus meus, in Deo salutari // meo. Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue, ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones. Quia fecit michi magna qui potens est, et sanctum nomen ejus. Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum. Fecit potenciam in brachio suo, disperxit superbos mente cordis sui. Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles. Esurientes implevit bonis et divites di- [fol. 62v] *misit inanes. Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus est misericordie sue. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in secula. Gloria Patri*

Psalm of David [Magnificat. Luke 1:46–55]. My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God, my Savior. Because he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaid, for behold, henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. Because he who is mighty hath done great things for me, and holy is his name, and his mercy from generation to generation on those who fear him. He hath shown might with his arm, he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart. He hath put down the mighty from their thrones, and hath exalted the lowly. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath [fol. 62v] sent away empty. He hath given help to Israel, his servant, being mindful of his mercy. Just as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his posterity forever. Glory be to the Father.

[Compline comprises a series of four Psalms—12, 42, 128, and 130—and a brief reading from the Gospel according to Saint Luke.]

fol. 63

The Flight into Egypt (Compline)

The Virgin, voluminously draped in a deep blue mantle, sits astride a remarkably docile donkey. Her face averted so only a sliver is visible, Mary wraps her arms around the Christ Child. Looking anxiously out of the picture field, he seems to struggle to emerge from the embracing folds of his mother's grasp. The mass of the Virgin's draped form anchors the composition and is given further visual stability by the curious passage of tubular drapery that descends columnlike on the far side of her steed. Her triangular form is echoed in the dusky green mountain behind. Idols are shattered and fall to the ground as the Holy Family passes; the footprints in the dirt path mark their progress. An angel aloft unequivocally points in the direction of safety, while Joseph pauses to gaze back with concern at his family, providing dramatic tension to the scene. His apprehensive expression imbues the scene with an emotional content that contrasts strikingly with the emotive austerity of the Annunciation that opened the cycle of the Hours of the Virgin. Here all detail is subordinated to the harmonic simplicity and poignancy of the moment.

* *

Converte nos Deus salutaris noster // et averte iram tuam a nobis, Deus in adjutorium meum.

Turn thine eyes upon us O God of our salvation, and turn away thy wrath from us. O God, hasten to help me.

["Nunc dittimus" are the words spoken by Simeon, to whom it had been revealed he would not die until he had seen the Son of God, when he saw the Christ Child presented in the Temple. The rubric in the *Belles Heures* identifies the text as a psalm when, in fact, it comes from the Gospel according to Saint Luke.]

fol. 65

Psalmus Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum. Lumen ad revelacionem gencium et gloriam plebis tue, Israel.

Psalm [Luke 2:29–32]. Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word, in peace, because my eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people. A light to the revelation of the nations, and for the glory of thy people, Israel.

63
Conuerte nos deus salutaris noster:
Et auerte iram tuam a nobis
Deus in adiutorium meum

63

Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 66–72v)

The seven penitential psalms (Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) are prayers for the forgiveness and remission of sins and are well described as "lyric cries for the sorrowing soul."[4] Medieval tradition ascribed authorship to King David who wrote them to atone for his sins, which are enumerated primarily in the Book of Kings. From the roof of his palace David sees the beautiful Bathsheba, the wife of Urias, bathing in a pool and proceeds to commit adultery with her. She conceives a boy child, and David, to conceal the crime, sends Urias to the front line of battle where he is killed (2 Kings 11). Nathan, a prophet in David's court, roundly rebukes David for his sins of adultery and murder and threatens him with death. Because of David's repentance God spares David but punishes him by passing death instead to his newborn son (2 Kings 12). By ordering a census of his people, David again offended God who responded by sending a pestilence across the land. Only after David publicly repented was the scourge lifted (2 Kings 24). In the early thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III ordered the clergy to recite the penitential psalms during Lent. In private devotion they were invoked for the benefit of the living to receive forgiveness for past sins as well as to gain strength to avoid future transgressions and for the benefit of the dead to reduce time spent in purgatory.

fol. 66

An Angel Destroys the Enemies of David (Psalm 6)

David, crowned and on his knees with arms crossed against his breast, laments his sins and beseeches the Lord to deliver him from his enemies: "Let all my enemies be ashamed, and be very much troubled: let them be turned back, and be ashamed very speedily." An angel swathed in brilliant orange-red drives a long spear into a soldier below, thus delivering God's vengeful aid to the repentant David; the corpses of his hapless enemies are piled haphazardly in the foreground, blood staining the ground. The repeat of the orange-red in the tunic of one of the vanquished among the pale gray, cool blue, and soft pink adds to the sense of violence.

* *

Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me. Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum, sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea. // Et anima mea turbata est valde, sed tu, Domine, usquequo? Convertere, Domine, et eripe animam meam, salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam . . .

Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath. Have mercy on me, Lord, for I am weak, heal me Lord, for my bones are troubled. And my soul is troubled exceedingly, but thou, Lord, for how long? Turn to me, Lord, and deliver my soul, O save me for thy mercy's sake . . .

66

fol. 66v

David Makes an Offering to God (Psalm 31)

King David kneeling before an altar within a tall and narrow aedicule holds an offering in the form of a large golden monstrance or reliquary. This psalm extols the blessings of those who have confessed their sins and received forgiveness: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. . . ." God appears above and declares to David: "I will give thee understanding, and I will instruct thee in this way, in which thou shalt go: I will fix my eyes upon thee." A rugged mountain peak surmounted by a stone fortress counterbalances the mass of the architecture. The warm pink of David's tunic radiates against the cool grays and greens of the setting.

* *

Beati, quorum remisse sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir, cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum, nec est in spiritu ejus dolus. . . .

Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered over. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin, and in whose spirit there is no guile. . . .

fol. 67v

David Transfixed by Arrows (Psalm 37)

David, in garments of pink and rich blue, lies on a vast floor of muted lavender and pale yellow-green tiles that recedes to the horizon where it meets a tessellated background. His body pierced with arrows, David beseeches God for the remission of his sins: "Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thy indignation. . . . For thy arrows are fastened in me: and thy hand hath been strong upon me." God, who appears above in a glory of seraphim and holding the orb, points to his face, reminding the penitent of his words: "But I, as a deaf man, heard not: and as a dumb man not opening his mouth." A floor paving in a similar color scheme is also used to indicate the earthly realm in *Saint Jerome's Dream* (fol. 183v). In that scene, God the Father, hovering in a field of celestial blue and gold, is likewise surrounded by an aureole of seraphim.

* *

Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me. Quoniam sagitte tue infixe sunt michi, et confirmasti super me manum tuam. Non est sanitas in carne mea, a facie ire tu//e non est ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum.

Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thine indignation: nor chastise me in thy wrath. For thine arrows are fastened in me, and thy hand hath been strong upon me. There is no health in my flesh, because of thy wrath, there is no peace for my bones, because of my sins.

fol. 68v

David Is Rebuked by the Prophet Nathan (Psalm 50)

Nathan, emerging from the left frame, raises one arm in a rhetorical gesture and points with the other at David who has taken Bathsheba in adultery and then sent her husband to his death. Standing opposite the sternly rebuking prophet, David lowers his head and bows his body in contrition: "For I know my iniquity and my sin is always before me." Having confessed and repented his sins, David beseeches God to cleanse and strengthen his soul: "Create a clean heart in me, O God: and renew a right spirit within my bowels. . . . Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a perfect spirit." A fold in his mantle overlaps the lower frame, drawing the figure into the viewer's space. A single tree and a castle wall punctuated with a corner turret and portcullis gate form the background. Divine rays of red radiate down from a barely visible orb.

* *

Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, et secundum multitudinem miseracionum tuarum, dele iniquitatem meam. Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea et a peccato meo munda [fol. 69] *me.*

Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy, and according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my iniquity. Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me [fol. 69] from my sin.

66v (detail)

67v (detail)

68v (detail)

Quire x

fol. 70

David Beseeches God (Psalm 101)

The young David emerges from a cave in which he has taken refuge from the wrath of Saul. Seen from the back and looking up, the figure is dramatically foreshortened and appears to hover on his back. Both he and his companion, wearing an orange-red pointed Jew's hat, lift their arms in supplication toward the vision of God who appears against a pale yellow disk from which gold and red rays of divine light radiate through the firmament. "Turn not away thy face from me: in the day when I am in trouble, incline thy ear to me." The rocky, barren mountain in which the cave is located is rendered in pale sage and light umber tones. A clump of trees at the left balances the mountain peak.

* *

Non avertas faciem tuam a me, in quacumque die tribulor, inclina ad me aurem tuam. In quacumque die invocavero te, velociter ex//audi me quia deffecerunt sicut fumus dies mei et ossa mea sicut cremium aruerunt. Percussus sum ut fenum et aruit cor meum quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum. A voce gemitus mei adhesit os meum carni mee. Similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis, factus sum sicut niticorax in domicilio. Vigilavi et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto.

Turn not away thy face from me on the day when I am in trouble, incline thine ear to me. In whatever day, I shall call upon thee, hear me speedily, for my days are vanished as smoke, and my bones are grown dry like a fuel for the fire. I am smitten as grass, and my heart is withered because I have forgotten to eat my bread. Through the voice of my groaning, my bone hath cleaved to my flesh. I am become like a pelican of the wilderness, I am like a night raven in the house. I have watched, and am become as a sparrow all alone in the housetop.

fol. 71v

David Beseeches God (Psalm 129)

In a composition similar to that in the preceding illumination but with a wattle fence and an additional figure added to the foreground, David with a companion emerges from a cave to entreat God for protection: "Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord. . . . Let thy ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication." God again appears in a pale yellow disk emanating rays of divine light. The crouching man on the far side of the fence, who holds a large key in his right hand, has fallen into a lethargic slumber like a jail keeper shirking his duties. The significance of this enigmatic figure is uncertain.

* *

De profundis clamavi ad te Domine, Domine, exaudi vocem meam. Fiant aures tue intendentes in vocem deprecacionis mee. Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine, Domine, quis sustinebit?

Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord, Lord, hear my voice. Let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication. If thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities, Lord, who shall endure it?

fol. 72

David Flees from Absalom (Psalm 142)

Absalom, son of David, seeks revenge by murdering Annon who has raped Absalom's sister Tamar. Absalom flees but eventually is recalled by David but not admitted to his presence. Over four years Absalom garners power and declares himself king of Hebron, and David is forced to flee from Jerusalem, though he eventually defeats Absalom and regains his kingdom. David on horseback raises his hands in supplication as, chased by his rebellious son Absalom, he races along a dirt road curving through the landscape. A patch of blue sky in an otherwise patterned background suggests the divine presence: "I stretched forth my hands to thee. . . . Deliver me from my enemies, O Lord, to thee have I fled. . . ." With faith in God, David knows he will be delivered: "Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land: for thy name's sake, O Lord, thou wilt quicken me in thy justice. Thou wilt bring my soul out of trouble: and in thy mercy thou wilt destroy my enemies." The angled and overlapping positioning of the horses provides a compact and dramatic composition, whereas the hoofprints in the road enhance the sense of motion. Contrasting colors clarify the overlapping forms. The cool, muted greens and soft browns set off the richer colors of costumes and caparisons.

* *

Domine, exaudi oracionem meam, auribus percipere obsecracionem meam in veritate tua, exaudi me in tua justicia. Et non intres in judicium cum servo tuo quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis // vivens. Quia persecutus est inimicus animam meam, humiliavit in terra vitam meam. Collocavit me in obscuris sicut mortuos seculi, et anxiatus est super me spiritus meus, in me turbatum est cor meum.

Hear, O Lord, my prayer, give ear to my supplication in thy truth, hear me in thy justice. And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no man living shall be justified. For the enemy hath persecuted my soul, he hath brought down my life to the earth. He hath made me to dwell in darkness as those who have been dead of old, and my spirit is in anguish within me, my heart within me is troubled.

70 (detail)

71v (detail)

72 (detail)

The Institution of the Great Litany (fols. 73–74v)

According to *The Golden Legend,* the Great Litany, celebrated on the Feast of Saint Mark, was also know as the Septiform Procession because the attendant procession was arranged in seven ranks of clergy and laymen and the Litany was recited seven times. It was also known as the Black Crosses because black was worn in the procession—though not depicted so by the Limbourg brothers—and all the altar crosses were veiled. When the plague broke out in Rome in A.D. 590, one of the first victims was Pope Pelagius II, and the populace immediately chose Gregory I to replace him. On the day of his consecration he preached to the people, led a procession, recited litanies, and exhorted the faithful to fervent prayer. As the plague continued to ravage the city Gregory organized a procession of an image of the Virgin through the streets to purify the air. At the fortress of Crescentius (Castel Sant'Angelo) an angel appeared high over the structure and sheathed his sword, thus marking the end of the plague.

fol. 73
Institution of the Great Litany

Gregory the Great, wearing the papal tiara and receiving the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, represented by a dove, addresses the gathered crowd from an exterior pulpit. A group of cardinals issues forth from a vaulted portal at the left. Others sit before the pulpit engrossed in texts. Deacons hold banners aloft while a crowd of the faithful on their knees prays to God. In the foreground a stricken man lies on his back, knees drawn up while another on bended knee appears to be sneezing—a symptom of the plague according to *The Golden Legend*—and falling forward. Behind him, two men pulling their robes around them, move away in horror. The crowded scene gains spatial definition through the varied positions and clustering of the participants, punctuated with an inventive palette ranging from hot orange-red and saturated blue to brilliant whites and a pastel array of pale pink, violet, fawn, and sage green. The descriptive rendering of the pathology of the two plague victims brings a chilling authenticity to the scene and suggests firsthand knowledge on the part of the Limbourg brothers.

* *

Tempore magni Gregorii pape institute fuerunt letanie que cum Romani in xl [quadragesima] continenter vixissent et post ea, luxurie frena laxarent. Provocatus, Dominus in eos pestem inguinariam misit, unde letanias Gregorius instituit.

In the time of Pope Gregory the Great the litanies were instituted. At one time the Romans lived in continence during Lent, and afterward they relaxed all moral restraints. God, thus provoked, sent them the bubonic plague. Following this, Gregory instituted the litanies.

73

fol. 73v

The Great Litany Procession

Gregory, now wearing a bishop's miter and holding up his hands in prayer, is in the center of a procession issuing forth from the Flaminian Gate. Deacons and acolytes with banners lead, while cardinals, a friar, and laymen follow. In this Septiform Procession, Gregory is followed by seven ranks, as well as children, widows and virgins, and married women. Two penitents are prostrated in the lower left corner, while a victim—perhaps the one depicted in the previous illumination but viewed from a different angle—lies on his back, his foreshortened head toward the viewer and his limbs raised in rigor mortis. A curious fellow with a pointed hat and pale yellow tunic has raised his hand and initially appears to bless the stricken. His mouth is open, however, and this may refer to the belief that in times of plague one should make the sign of the Cross at the oncoming of a yawn, for yawning also caused victims to expire. The Limbourg brothers boldly experimented not only with palette but also with unusual and distorted postures and viewpoints.

* *

Tam seva autem illa pestis fuisse fertur quod homines in via, in mensa, in ludis subito sternutando morerentur. Unde cum aliquis sternutantem audiebat, vix in ejus auxilium dicebat adjuvet te Deus et spiritum exalabat.

It is said that the plague was so violent that people, suddenly sneezing in the roads, at tables, or at games, died immediately. Whenever one heard someone sneezing there was hardly time to respond to him with, "God bless thee!" before he expired.

73v (detail)

fol. 74

The End of the Plague

After the image of the Virgin purified the air of the streets of Rome, a mighty angel appeared over the fortress of Crescentius—Hadrian's monument. He wiped clean the blade of his bloody sword and then sheathed it, signifying the end of the plague, from which point on the edifice was known as the Castel Sant'Angelo. The frame of the illumination has been extended through the upper border in order to accommodate the castellated structure and the angel hovering above. This vertically expanded format was used a number of times by the Limbourg brothers in this manuscript. Depicting the "carnage of people" rather than the procession, two scantily clad men carry a stiff and decomposing corpse—foreshortened—while three others lower another corpse into its grave. The ground is rendered in a mossy green, whereas the violet, sage green, blue, and pink robes of the burial workers punctuate an otherwise muted palette.

* *

Tandem post stragem hominum maximam, luctus, jejunia et penitencias graves, pape processionaliter eunti per Romam cum universa plebe et clero apparet angelus sanguinolentum ensem in vagina reponens super palacium magius.

Following a great carnage of people, mourning, fasts, and weighty penances, the pope was going through Rome with the entire populace and clergy, when an angel appeared over the great palace, returning his drawn, blood-stained sword to its sheath.

74 (detail)

Servatur q3 hec consuetudo usq3 i hodiernū die
q homines vadūt nudi in aliquib3 locis ulcerā
tes se et macerando carnē in ieiunio et oīone et
planctu, processionalr oīm scōr p̄ocinia iplorāt

74v

fol. 74v

The Procession of the Flagellants

Although no mention of flagellants is made, *The Golden Legend*, in the discussion of rogations, notes that in certain churches, particularly in Gaul, there is the custom of holding aloft a long-tailed dragon stuffed with straw; on the first two days it is processed before the Cross, but on the third day—illustrated here—it follows the Cross, shown here hung with the Crown of Thorns and scourges. The first day signifies the rule of the devil before the Law; the second day, his rule under the Law; and the third day under the rule of grace in which evil has been driven out by the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. In Italy, flagellants were often hooded, as three here are shown, while in the North, they were sometimes stripped to the waist and wore dark, wide-brimmed hats. The varied postures and arm gestures of the figures suggest the forward motion of the procession. The white and the flesh tones dominate this unusual and striking composition. The umber hats and yellowish green ground modulate the cool, pale palette, against which the streaks of blood on backs and shoulders vibrate all the more. The blue-and-gold tessellated background carpet heightens the surreal nature of the scene.

* *

Servaturque hec consuetudo usque in hodiernum diem quod homines vadunt nudi in aliquibus locis, verberantes se et macerando carnem in jejunio et oracione et planctu processionaliter omnium sanctorum patrocinia implorantes.

This practice is maintained until the present day when, in certain places, men go nude, flogging themselves, and laying waste to their flesh through fasting, prayer, and mourning, and thus through these processions imploring the protection of all the saints.

Litany (fols. 75–77v)

The Litany begins with Kyrieleison (Lord have mercy) and Christeleison (Christ have mercy) and moves on to a long list of the hierarchy of holy beings whom the faithful call upon in hypnotic repetition for intercession. At the top of the list is Christ, followed by the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, the archangels and angels, and then a multitude of saints. This is followed by a list of afflictions to be protected from ("From sudden and unexpected death . . . From the snares of the Devil . . . From his hatred and all his ill-will . . . From everlasting death . . ."); the means of achieving the protection ("Through thy coming . . . Through thy Nativity . . . thy Baptism . . . thy Cross and Passion . . . thy Resurrection . . ."); and then basically a wish list to be granted by the Lord ("That thou wouldst be pleased to grant us remission of all our sins. . . . That thou wouldst be pleased to redeem and preserve all Christians through thy precious blood . . . to preserve our bishop . . . to preserve our king and all princes . . . to give and preserve the fruits of the earth . . . deliver our souls and the souls of our parents from eternal damnation. . . ."). The Litany ends with an invocation of the Lamb of God ("Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us"), Kyrieleison, and three short prayers.

* *

[fol. 75] *Kyrieleison. Christeleison. Kyrieleison. Christe audi nos. Pater de celis, Deus, miserere nobis. Fili redemptor mundi, Deus, miserere nobis. Spiritus Sancte, Deus, miserere. Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere. Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei genitrix, ora. Sancta Virgo virginum, ora. Sancte Michael, ora. Sancte Gabriel, ora. Sancte Raphael, ora. Sancte Uriel, ora. Omnes sancti ange//li et archangeli Dei, orate pro nobis.*

Lord have mercy. Christ have mercy. Lord have mercy. Christ hear us. God, the Father of heaven, have mercy on us. God the Son, redeemer of the world, have mercy on us. God, the Holy Spirit, have mercy [on us]. Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy on us. Holy Mary, pray for us. Holy mother of God, pray [for us]. Holy Virgin of Virgins, pray [for us]. Saint Michael, pray [for us]. Saint Gabriel, pray [for us]. Saint Raphael, pray [for us]. Saint Uriel, pray [for us]. All holy angels and archangels of God, pray for us.

1. For a more detailed discussion, see Wieck in Baltimore 1988, pp. 60–72, and Wieck in New York 1997, pp. 51–54.
2. Throughout this volume the Psalms are numbered according to the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible.
3. Wieck in New York 1997, p. 53.
4. Walter Drum, "Psalms," in *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1907–12, vol. 12 (1911), p. 543.

Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit, Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and Seven Prayers Invoking the Incarnation and the Passion

Hours of the Cross and Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 80–87v)

The Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, though much shorter than the Hours of the Virgin, are similarly structured on the canonical Hours except that Lauds is eliminated.[2] These two Hours sometimes appear together after the Hours of the Virgin, but in the *Belles Heures*, as in many French Books of Hours of the period, they follow the Litany. The Hours of the Cross opens with the conventional petitions in two columns of text under the image of the Descent from the Cross, which introduces the Hours. This is followed by a brief hymn, then a versicle and response, and closes with a prayer that invokes Christ's comfort at the time of one's death. The same structure is repeated for each Hour, the principal variable being a hymn that focuses on a different event in the Passion of Christ: in the *Belles Heures* these are Matins, the Betrayal; Prime, the Mocking; Terce, the Crowning with Thorns; Sext, the Nailing to the Cross; None, the Death of Christ; Vespers, the Deposition; and Compline, the Entombment. Each Hour closes with the same prayer concerning the remission of sins and redemption. The Hours of the Holy Spirit is similarly composed, but here the hymn for each Hour enumerates the blessings and comforts of the Holy Spirit: Matins, the Incarnation; Prime, the Resurrection and Ascension; Terce, the Pentecost; Sext, Apostolic Teaching of the Faith; None, the Comforts of the Holy Spirit; Vespers, spiritual strength and protection; and Compline, the Reception of the Soul at the Last Judgment. The closing prayer for each Hour invokes the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Quire ix

fol. 80

Descent from the Cross (*Hours of the Cross*)

The limp and elongated body of Christ is lowered from the Cross, with Nicodemus bearing most of the weight while Joseph of Arimathea somewhat clumsily clutches the corpse to little supportive avail. The Virgin and Mary Magdalen kneel below. The massive drapery folds in pale grayish green, deep blue, muted lavender, and rose pink frame the body of Christ and set off the flesh tones. The action has been frozen and the body is displayed as the symbol of sacrifice and redemption. The scene is rigorously composed: the T-shaped Cross establishes the central axis and the top border, whereas the triangular arrangement of the figures is reinforced by the angles of the spear and sop pole held by flanking angels. The long, slender limbs of Christ echo these angles. The yellowish green ground and tessellated background form the sparse setting. The unusually elaborate interlace border filled with bryony tendrils and meanders of flowers, all in red, blue, and gold, incorporates a medallion in each corner, two with praying angels against blue backgrounds and two with mourning angels against red. Normally the Hours of the Cross is introduced by a *Crucifixion*; because there are three Crucifixion scenes in the Hours of the Passion, *Descent*, which was not represented in that cycle, was chosen here.

* *

Domine, labia mea aperies et os meum annun//ciabit laudem tuam. Deus, in adjutorium meum intende. Domine, ad adjuvan- [fol. 80v] *dum me festina.*

O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will tell forth thy praise. O God, come to my aid. O Lord, make speed [fol. 80v] to save me.

80

fol. 80v

Patris Hymnus sapiencia, veritas divina, Deus homo captus hora matutina, a suis scipulis cito derelictus, a judeis venditus, n[crossed out] *traditus, afflictus.*

Hymn. The Father's wisdom, the divine truth, God as man was taken at a morning hour, deserted swiftly by his disciples, sold by Jews, betrayed, and struck down.

Oracio Domine, Jhesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, pone Passionem, mortem et crucem tuam inter judicium tuum et animam meam nunc et in hora mortis mee semper, largiri digneris vivis misericordiam et graciam, defunctis veniam et requiem, ecclesie pacem et veram concordiam et nobis peccatoribus vitam et gloriam sempiternam. Qui vivis et regnas Deus per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Prayer. Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, place thy Passion, death, and Cross between thy judgment and my soul, now and ever in the hour of my death; be ever pleased to grant mercy and grace to the living, and pardon and rest to the dead. Grant peace and true concord to thy Church, and grant life and everlasting glory to us sinners. Who lives and reigns, one God, through Christ, our Lord, Amen.

fol. 84

Pentecost (Hours of the Holy Spirit)

The house in which Mary received the apostles is depicted as a church structure with the Virgin centered in the apse and the apostles evenly distributed on either side. The central vessel of the church is heightened, rising into a semicircular space that extends into the border. The orange-red of the brickwork emphasizes the vaulting, and the Holy Spirit descends on the Virgin seemingly from the keystone. The features of the near apostles are foreshortened to indicate their upward craning. Why the Limbourg brothers chose to represent the apostles as sixteen in number rather than the canonic twelve is unclear. The rose pink-on-ocher robes of the apostle on the left are a counterpoint to the orange-red robe of the youthful Saint John on the right. The voluminous form of the fully frontal Virgin with her arms crossed against her chest centers the entire composition. The strict bilateral symmetry is repeated in the partial-page *Pentecost* at the beginning of the Suffrages (fol. 155). This version of the "threaded pot" motif in the border is repeated one other time in the manuscript (fol. 209).

* *

Domine, labia mea aperies. Et os meum annun // ciabit laudem tuam. Deus in adjutoium meum intende.

O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will tell forth thy praise. O God, come to my aid.

84

fol. 84v

Nobis Ymnus Sancti Spiritus gracia sit data, de qua Virgo fuit obumbrata, cum per sanctum angelum fuit salutata. Verbum caro factum est Virgo fecundata.

Hymn. May the grace of the Holy Spirit be granted to us, by which the Virgin was overshadowed, when she was greeted by the holy angel. The word became flesh, and the Virgin was made fruitful.

Quire XII

Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (fols. 88–91v)

The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin is a series of short prayers, each addressing one of fifteen momentous events in the life of the Virgin and beseeching the Virgin for assistance in deriving spiritual strength from each of them. The fifteen events, or joys, are: 1. the Annunciation, 2. the Visitation, 3. the Immaculate Conception, 4. the Nativity, 5. the Adoration of the Shepherds, 6. the Adoration of the Magi, 7. the Presentation in the Temple, 8. Christ among the Doctors, 9. the Miracle of Turning Water into Wine, 10. the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, 11. the Passion of Christ, 12. the Resurrection, 13. the Ascension, 14. the Pentecost, 15. the Assumption of the Virgin. The Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and the prayers that follow are the only text in French in the *Belles Heures*. Following the Fifteen Joys is a concise prayer to the Trinity succeeded by Seven Prayers Addressed to the Good Lord God, which beseech his mercy and pity as he had shown in the Holy Scriptures. Quire XII concludes with a brief prayer to the Holy Cross.

fol. 88

Assumption of the Virgin (Prayers for the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin)

The Virgin, dressed in a white alb with red embroidery and hands in the attitude of prayer, is transported to heaven by seven fiery red cherubim. The dazzling group is set against a firmament of deep azure, and feathery branches of gold are interspersed among the winged supporters. The earthly realm she departs is indicated by a narrow green band, while the half-length figure of God, hand raised in benediction, leans out of a semicircular aperture leading into the heavenly realm.

* *

Doulce Dame de misericorde, mere de Dieu, fontaine de tous biens qui portastes Jhesucrist IX moys en vos precieux flans et laitastes de vos doulces mamelles. Belle tresdouce Dame, je vous prie mercy et // vous prie que vous vueillies prier vostre cher filz qu'il vueille avoir merci de moy et que il me doint en telle maniere vivre que je puisse venir a sa misericorde et en la fin vraye confession et repetance de tous les peches que je fis oncques. . . .

Gentle Lady of mercy, mother of God, font of all good, who bore Jesus Christ 9 months in your precious womb and nursed him from your sweet breasts. Fair most gentle Lady, I pray for your mercy and beg you to ask your beloved son to have mercy on me and to grant me to live in such a way as to come to his mercy and, at last, to true confession and contrition for all the sins I have committed in the past. . . .

A King and Attendants in Prayer

The king in a pale blue robe and his attendants look at the ascending Virgin with hands raised in prayer. The group is partially in and out of the high portal of a tall edifice, the mass of which is counterbalanced by a jagged conical peak. The identity of the king is uncertain, but he may be David, believed to be the author of the Psalms, which foretold the Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ.

Doulce dame
de misericor
de mere de
dieu fontaine de tous
biens qui portastes ihe
sucrist .ix. moys en vos
precieux flans et laita
stes de vos doulces ma
melles. Belle tresdouce
dame ie vo̅ prie m̄cy et
vous prie que vous
vueillies prier vr̄e cher
filz quil vueille avoir
merci de moy et que il
me doint en telle man
iere vivre que ie puisse
venir a sa misericorde.
et en la fin vraye con
fession et repetance de
tous les pechez que ie
fis oncques et me doīt

88

fol. 91

Oracio XV ad beatam Mariam per gaudium quod habuit in die Assumpcionis sue. E tresdoulce Dame, pour ycelle grant joie que vous eustes au jour de vostre Assumpcion quant vostre cher filz vous porta es cielx et vous coronna sur toutes femmes du monde. Douce, pries li pour moy et pour tous pecheurs et toutes pecherresses que par sa digne puissance, ilz aient volente d'isir hors de leur pechies // et de leur vies amender. Ave Maria gracia.

Fifteenth prayer to the blessed Mary for the joy she had on the day of her Assumption. And most gentle Lady, for that great joy you had on the day of your Assumption when your beloved son carried you to heaven and crowned you above all women of the world. Gentle one, pray to him for me and for all sinners, so that by his worthy power they may be willing to forgo their sins and improve their lives. Hail Mary [full of] grace.

The Duke of Berry in Prayer

The ermine collar, coronet, and fleur-de-lis patterned cloth draped over the prie-dieu indicate a royal personage, and logic tells us that it must be the commissioner of the manuscript. Obvious pentimenti show that the figure originally had a turbanlike headdress rather than the coronet, and the figure appears far too young to be Jean de Berry, who was well into his sixties when this miniature was painted. It has been suggested that the duke is shown so young as to diminish the age difference with his twenty-eight-year-old wife who is thought to be depicted on the verso.[2] It is more probable that the image was intended to represent the person of the duke rather than a likeness. Close examination of the painting also reveals that the head was originally turned more toward the viewer. The mystery of the scene is increased by the ambiguous spatial relationship between the two curtains hanging from rods that are both attached to the picture frame, with the presumed forward curtain pulled back to reveal the royal presence. It likewise seems curious that the servant holding the curtain is also holding a large golden mace in his bare hand. To judge from the one visible foot, the mostly hidden figure is quite out of scale with his regal master.

91

quant vous envoia
stes vr̄e saint angle
gabriel a la vierge ma
rie dire et annuncier la
nouvelle et le conseil
de vr̄e loy biau sire dieu
si comme ce fu voir no⁹
vueillies regarder en
pitie et nous dōner vr̄e
sainte misericorde. Am̄.
Pater nr̄ qui es ī celis.

Doulx dieu
doulx pere
sainte tri
nite. j. dieu biau sire
dieu ie vous requier
conseil et aide en lon
neur et a la remembrā
ce de celuy hautisme cō
seil que vous preinstes
de vr̄e ꝓpre sapience q̄t

92v

fol. 91v

The Trinity (Prayer to the Trinity)

The miniature at the upper left depicts the Trinity as God the Father wearing a papal tiara replicated twice, thus reinforcing the concept of one God stressed in the prayer that follows. Bust length in a golden aureole, the image floats in the firmament above a chorus of seraphim high over the earthly realm.

* *

Doulx Dieu, doulx Pere, Sainte Trinite. I Dieu biau sire Dieu, je vous requier conseil et aide en l'onneur et a la remembrance de celui hautisme conseil que vous preinstes de vostre propre sapience quant // vous envoiastes vostre saint angle Gabriel a la Vierge Marie dire et annuncier la nouvelle et le conseil de vostre loy, biau sire Diex, si comme ce fu voir nous vueillies regarder en pitie et nous donner vostre sainte misericorde. Amen. Pater noster qui es in celis.

Gentle God, gentle Father, Holy Trinity. One God, good Lord God, I beg you for your advice and help in honor and in remembrance of the highest advice you took from your own wisdom when you sent your blessed angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary to tell and announce the news and the advice of your law, good Lord God, that, as it was true, you may look upon us with pity and give us your holy mercy. Amen. Our Father, who art in heaven.

The Duchess in Prayer

Below to the right the duchess, Jeanne de Boulogne, kneels before a cloth-covered prie-dieu supporting an open book and looks upward to the heavenly image. The crown she wears signifies a higher rank than that of a duchess, again calling the identity of the praying figure into question. The long white veil held by the crown is hitched to her waist. Again two curtains hang from poles. A mace-bearer, now mostly visible, holds the front curtain back. He appears to stand behind the praying duchess, but the curtain seems to be on her far side. If the miniature indeed represents the duchess, her youthful appearance accords with fact, as she was only twelve years old when the duke married her in 1389.

Seven Prayers Invoking the Incarnation and the Passion (fols. 92–93)

fol. 92v

Oracio VII ad Deum. Biau sire Dieu regardes moi en pitie en l'onneur de celui regart dont. . . . [fol. 93] *. . . vous regardastes le larron en la croys quant il dit Sire, remembres vous de moy quant vous vendrez a vostre regne et vous lui respondites lui seras avec moy en paradis. Sire si comme ce fu voir aies pitie et mercy de moy. Pater noster qui es in.*

7th prayer to God. Good Lord God, look upon me with pity in honor of that consideration you showed . . . [fol. 93] . . . when looking upon the thief on the cross when he said, "Lord, remember me when you will come to your kingdom," and you said back to him, "Today you will be with me in paradise." Lord, as it was true, have pity and mercy on me. Our Father who art in.

Prayer to the Holy Cross (fol. 93)

Sequitur pulcherrima ac devotissima oracio ad sanctam crucem. Sainte vraye croys aouree qui du corps Dieu fus aournee et de sa sueur arousee et de son sanc enluminee, par ta vertu, par ta puissance // deffent mon corps de mechance. Amen.

Here follows the most beautiful and most pious prayer to the Holy Cross. Holy, true, and adored cross, which was adorned with God's body and drenched with his sweat and enlightened by his blood, by your virtue, by your power defend my body from calamity. Amen.

Adoration of the Cross

Within a blue-vaulted apse of a soaring three-story elevation, a young man in blue and an old man in dusky pink kneel in prayer flanking an altar covered with a cloth embroidered in red. On the altar is the object of the worshipers' devotions—a large Cross with a Crown of Thorns hanging over the upper terminus. The grayish green masonry and tiled floor set off the blues, white, and pink, underscoring the strict symmetry of the composition. This is one of the few half-page illuminations in the manuscript.

1. For a more detailed discussion, see Wieck in Baltimore 1988, pp. 89–93, and Wieck in New York 1997, pp. 79–85.
2. Meiss and Beatson 1974, fol. 91.

regardastes le larron
en la croys quant il
dit sire remembres vo
de moy quant vous
vendres a vre regne z
vous luy respondistes
huy seras avec moy
en paradis. Sire si co
me ce fu voir aies pi
tie et mercy de moy.

Pater nr qui es in

Sequitur pulcherrima
ac devotissima oracio
ad sanctam crucem.

Sainte vraye
croys aouree.
qui du corps dieu fus
aournee. et de sa sueur
arousee. et de son sanc
enluminee. par ta ver
tu par ta puissance
deffent mon corps de
mechance. Amen.

93

Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and the Founding of the Carthusian Order

Quire XIII

Saint Bruno, the eleventh-century confessor, ecclesiastical scholar, and founder of the Carthusian order, was, according to tradition, born in Cologne, studied at the collegial of Saint Cunibert, and completed his education at Rheims. He returned to Cologne where he was ordained and subsequently recalled to Rheims to head the cathedral school; he was also made a canon and chancellor. As a result of a dispute with the archbishop, Bruno was stripped of his offices and property and later prevented from assuming the see by Philippe I of France. At this point Bruno chose to withdraw from worldly life. According to legend, however, this decision was precipitated not by political issues but by witnessing the corpse of the celebrated Parisian university professor and canon Raymond Diocrès crying out on three separate occasions from his coffin during his funeral rites: "I have been accused by the fair judgment of God; I have been judged in God's fair trial; and I have been condemned by the justice of God." Bruno and his six companions, the legend continues, departed Paris and proceeded to meet with Hugh of Châteauneuf, bishop of Grenoble. The bishop, aware of their mission through a vision of seven stars that came to him in a dream, led Bruno and his companions to a rugged and isolated spot in the Alps, where the Grande Chartreuse was built and the Carthusian order founded. A blend of the eremitical and cenobite traditions of monasticism, the Carthusian order spread throughout Europe.

The duke of Berry's interest in the Carthusians was most likely inspired by his brother's deep attachment to the order: Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was the builder of the Chartreuse de Champmol at Dijon. The three scenes from the legend of Diocrès and, indeed, the entire Bruno cycle are unprecedented. A single scene representing Diocrès crying out appears in the *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 86v), the composition of which was drawn by the Limbourg brothers, but completed later in the century by Jean Colombe.

fol. 94

Diocrès Expounding the Scriptures

The learned Diocrès sits in an elaborate raised cathedra directly facing the viewer. He is engrossed in his reading (or writing) and is so hunched over that we can only see his head from the brow up over the lectern. A bench in the foreground is occupied at one end by a scholar busily writing on a scroll and, at the other end, by another two engaged in conversation. A group of three men, against the right frame, is clustered around a fourth, who raises his hand in a rhetorical gesture. All wear scholars' robes and cowls of varied and contrasting colors. The asymmetrical arrangement of the scholars accords with the apparent informality of the gathering. The scene is set ambiguously: the furnishings suggest an interior, but the green ground indicates an exterior setting. A recession of parallel planes provides a convincing sense of spatial depth. The threaded post of the adjustable reading stand and the mortise-and-tenon joints of the bench reveal the Limbourgs' interest in mechanical detail. As in Catherine's study a statue of Moses, representing the written word, surmounts the threaded pole of the bookstand. The text is taken from the first life of Saint Bruno written in the thirteenth century.[1]

* *

Circa annos Domini MLXXXIIIIor, vir quidam magni nominis atque fame sacre pagine professor, ad extremum vite perductus est. Unde tam clerici quam alii ad ejus exequias honorifice ut moris est Parisius convenerunt.

In the year of the Lord 1084, a certain man, a professor of the sacred texts who was of great title and reputation, came to the end of his life. So great was his fame that as many clerics as nonclerics gathered at his funeral procession in Paris, as was required by tradition.

94
Circa annos domini .cc.lxxxiiij. uir quidam ma
gni nois atq; fame sacre pagine, pfessor ad extre
mu uite pductus e. unde tam clerici qm alij ad ei
exequias honorifice ut mor e pili couenerut

94

fol. 94v

Diocrès Cries Out from His Coffin

Although the double arcade through which we view the scene is parallel to the picture plane, the interior of the church choir is shown obliquely. The three-storied choir wall, the choir stalls, and the tiled floor are all on different perspectival planes, but the spatial arrangement of the interior is, nonetheless, clear. The corpse lifts up the lid of its coffin and holds a *carte ligna*, or scroll, signifying his unexpected utterance. The monks lined up in the stall display varying degrees of dismay. The gold prickets on the near side of the coffin appear to hover mysteriously above the floor. The blue vaults and the eye-catching green and pale lavender tiles give relief to the drab browns that dominate the palette. The illumination does not represent the episode described in the text, but rather a similar event occurring on the next day, which is referred to by the text for the following miniature.

* *

Cum autem corpus defuncti circumstantibus cunctis in sepulcro poni deberet, clamavit, dicens. Justo Dei judicio accusatus sum. Quo audito universi qui astabant stupefacti corpus ad ecclesiam portant in crastinum reservantes.

However, when the body of the dead man was to be placed in the tomb in the presence of all standing nearby, it cried out, "I have been accused in the fair judgment of God!" Upon hearing this, the people standing nearby were astonished, and they carried the body to the church, storing it until the next day.

fol. 95

The Burial of Diocrès

In this densely populated scene a procession of monks led by acolytes bearing crosses issues forth from a portal obliquely toward the center of the picture. Four workmen—the one on the far side greatly foreshortened—strain to lower the coffin into the ground. Behind stands a tight circle of mourners in black, one of whom leans forward to inspect the coffin and its unorthodox occupant. Again the deceased lifts the lid of his coffin and holds a *carte ligna* signifying his second astonishing utterance. To the right a group of clerics led by two scholars enters from the opposing diagonal. One of the scholars looks heavenward for explanation, his head considerably foreshortened. The distant background is seemingly littered with tomb slabs and crosses. The converging diagonals of the two processions create the sense of deep recessive space. The arc of the mourners in the center is repeated in the pattern of the tomb lids and the line of the horizon beyond. The deep umber of the freshly turned earth balances the insistent black of the knot of mourners, whereas the pale pinks, muted greens, soft grays, and off-whites of the costumes are repeated in the background. The symmetrical arrangement of the processions brings order to the unusually large number of participants in the scene and creates breathing room in the vista.

* *

Sequenti die, exequiis celebratis, mortuus iterum clamat. Justo Dei judicio judicatus sum. Tunc magis admirati quia judicium sonare potest in bonum vel malum, deliberaverunt expectare in crastinum reservantes.

On the next day, the funeral rites having been celebrated, the dead man cried out again, "I have been judged in God's fair trial!" Then, even more astonished that the judgment might be bad or good, they decided to wait until the next day, and stored the body again.

Cum autē corpus defūncti acūlcanab; cunctis m
sepulcro ponī debēt damnaūt dicēs. Justo dī iudicio
accusatus sum. quo audito unūsq; astabāt
stupefti corp ad ecclām portāt īcastrū relinquēs.

94v (detail)

Sequenti die exequijs celebratis monachus iterū
damnat. Justo dī iudicio iudicatus sum nūc mag
admirati quia iudicū sonare potest īvonū ul
malū deliberēt expectant īcastrum relinquēs

95 (detail)

fol. 95v

Saint Bruno Leaves Paris

Only the last words of the text refer to the image. Bruno, who was not canonized and therefore is depicted without a halo, stands with a group of followers in front of the gates of Paris. The Carthusians combined Western monasticism with Egyptian eremitical traditions. He points to a vision he conjures up for the edification of his followers: the portal of the foundation they are to establish, a hermit in a cave indicating their solitary life, and a distant grave foretelling a lonely end. The abundant drapery folds and statuesque bearing add to the monumentality of the three foreground figures. The blue and pink robes of Bruno and his nearest companion center the composition; the brilliant orange-red sleeves attract the eye to the dominant figure. The near engaged turret reads more as a column, and the spatial relationship to the city gate it presumably flanks is unclear.

* *

Mane facto congregatis omnibus ad sepeliendum mortuum, iterum clamat. Justo Dei judicio condempnatus sum. Unde preteriti sunt omnes quod vix tante facte perditus esset ex quibus Bruno, scolares suos alloquitur.

When, early the next morning, all had congregated to bury the dead man, he cried out once more, "I have been condemned by the justice of God." All were frightened by the prospect that a man of such great deeds could have been lost, and Bruno spoke about this to his students.

fol. 96

The Vision of Bishop Hugh

A narrowed double arcade, with a statue of a bishop atop the central capital identifying the structure as episcopal, allows us to see into the bedroom of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble. In bed with his miter on, Hugh lies in fresh white linens with an orange-red cover and hangings set off by steely blue curtains, the near one bundled up. A vision in the form of a constellation of seven golden stars appears above the foot of the bed representing Bruno and his six companions. The vibrant reds of the bedclothes contrast with the soft grayish tones of the architecture. The lancet window identifies the extension to the right as a chapel or oratory, while the diagonal wall at the left with the colonettes seems to connect the bishop's bedroom with the rest of the palace. Digital infrared photography reveals an underdrawing for a small shrine with a crucifix above the bishop's head, barely discernible to the unassisted eye.

* *

Quid nos miseri sperare debemus? Ecce fugiamus et habitemus in solitudine. Et pervenientes ad Burgundiam, accesserunt quemdam episcopum sancte vite qui venientes in sompnio viderat ut VII stellas ante se cadentes.

"What should we miserable creatures hope for? Therefore let us flee and live in solitude." And arriving at Burgundy, they reached a certain bishop leading a holy life who had seen them coming in a dream as 7 stars falling before him.

95v (detail)

96 (detail)

fol. 96v

Bishop Hugh Receiving Bruno and His Companions

In an architectural arrangement similar to that in the previous illumination, a double arcade allows a view into a reception room where Bruno, in a pink robe, and his companions kneel before Bishop Hugh, who, dressed in full pontificals, raises his hand in benediction. The bishop, who realizes his dream was prophetic, informs Bruno that he knows where the monastery is to be founded. The orange-red of the vaulting dramatically contrasts with the pale grayish green of the architecture. Bruno in his voluminous pink robe anchors the center of the composition, but it takes the entire group of seven companions to counterbalance the monumental figure of Bishop Hugh draped in the magnificent blue and gold-trimmed cope.

* *

Et postea per diversos montes ascendentes usque locus quemdam horridum et ab hominibus remotum ubi se arrestarunt. Qui intellecta causa qua ibidem venerant, dixit eis scio vobis locum a Deo paratum.

And after climbing through several mountains they came to a wild place and far removed from the nearest inhabitants, where they stopped. Here having divined the reason for which they had come, he said to them, "I know the place that God has prepared for you."

fol. 97

Entering the Grande Chartreuse

Six monks and a novitiate are entering the church they have built, the portal of which looks very much like the one Bruno points out to his companions as they leave Paris (fol. 95). The monks wear Carthusian habits distinguished by the scapular all of a piece with the cowl and secured at the side by a wide band. The lead monk has all but disappeared through the church portal while the next, who resembles the depiction of Bruno in the previous miniatures, moves forward, bent in reverence. A pair of monks stands to view the edifice with awe while another with the cowl over his head holds up the opening so as to see the scene. The final monk, turned away from the procession, addresses a tonsured man in blue who may be a novitiate. The portal is counterbalanced by the mountain peak, which suggests the remote location. But the composition is dominated by the monks, monumentally conceived and posed in lively animation. The forms are clearly articulated, and each figure commands his space. The modulation of the white tones of the habits is masterful, and the composition is the most impressive and accomplished of the series.

* *

Et eos non sine grandi labore ad locum ubi VII stelle quas viderat in sompnio steterant duxit et ait. Hic erit locus vester. Ibi igitur ipso episcopo viro sancto juvante edificare ceperunt primam domum ordinis Cartusiensium.

And, with great effort he led them to the place where the 7 stars fell that he had seen in his dream and said, "This shall be your place." For this reason, they came to build the first home of the Carthusian order here with the assistance of the very same bishop, a holy man.

96v (detail)

97 (detail)

Quedomus cartusia uero nomine nuncupa
tur ĩtra artos mõtes burgũdie scd̃m illud iero
opidum m̃ carcer est solitudo paradisus. Pax
est in cella foris instant iurgia bella.

97v

fol. 97v

The Grande Chartreuse

The entirety of the foundation is revealed in a bird's-eye view, although the perspectives of the chapel and walled cloister are skewed. The individual cells of the monks are set above the arcaded walkways. The blue roof of the church and the pale orange tiled roofs of the cloister and cells relieve the drab gray architecture. Located in a remote and mountainous place, the image exudes peaceful serenity. In the foreground four monks engage in fishing and other water activities on and by the lake. Birds soar above and a chapel can be seen on a distant mountain peak. The verdant earth is rendered in greens ranging in tones from yellowish to silvery blue. In contrast to the otherwise naturalistic treatment of the scene, the deep blue background is filled with golden boughs.

* *

Que domus Cartusia vero nomine nuncupatur intra artos montes Burgundie secundum illud Jeronimum. Opidum mihi carcer est, solitudo paradisus. Pax est in cella, foris instant jurgia bella.

Which home, among the steep montains of Burgundy, is called by its true name of Cartusia. According to Jerome, "Town is a prison to me, solitude is paradise. Peace is within the cell, while quarrelsome wars threaten outside."

1. According to Meiss and Beatson 1974, fol. 94.

Office of the Dead

The Office of the Dead is the only text in a Books of Hours that is taken directly from the breviary with little or no change; what the clergy read and what the laity read were essentially the same, whereas all other components of a Book of Hours are otherwise much abridged and simplified versions of their counterparts in a breviary.[1] In a medieval funeral service the Office of the Dead was read immediately before the requiem or funeral Mass. After the requiem Mass the absolution or blessing of the bier with incense and water was performed and then the coffin was carried in procession to the cemetery. The canonical structure of the Office of the Dead, or the Vigils of the Dead, as it is called in the *Belles Heures*, is truncated to only three Hours, opening with Vespers, to be prayed on the evening before the funeral Mass. It commences with five Psalms—114, 119, 120, 129, and 137—bracketed by antiphons. The Magnificat of Saint Luke recording the words of the Virgin spoken to her cousin Elizabeth after the Annunciation ("My soul magnifies the Lord . . .") follows. Another Psalm—145—and three short prayers conclude the Hour. Matins comprises, as in the Hours of the Virgin, three nocturns, each composed of three psalms—to be read in series on different days of the week—and three lessons numbered consecutively throughout, with antiphons, versicles, and responses interspersed. This, the longest Hour, along with Lauds, was to be prayed on the day of the funeral Mass and burial. Lauds comprises eight Psalms—50, 64, 62, 66, 148, 149, 150, 129—a reading from Isaiah and one from Luke, all separated by antiphons, and concludes with a series of short prayers for souls of the dead. Normally the Office of the Dead comes near the end of the Book of Hours, but in the *Belles Heures* it falls toward the middle of the manuscript with the lengthy Hours of the Passion inserted between it and the Suffrages. In the original scribal plan, the Office of the Dead followed the Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit.

The more common subject of the introductory illumination to the Office of the Dead is the funeral service, generally depicting the shrouded bier surrounded by mourners within the church or cathedral interior, reciting the Office of the Dead. Other aspects of the funeral, such as absolution, processing the coffin, or burial, were also depicted. In a moralizing vein, Death, Purgatory, and the Torments of Hell were represented, and, striking more promising notes, the Raising of Lazarus and Angels Bearing the Soul to Heaven were favored subjects. As the grimmer aspects of death were understandably less popular, the choice of subject in the *Belles Heures*—a curious and enigmatic scene in a cemetery— is somewhat surprising. Normally the deceased would receive a final blessing before being interred, but here, two wasted corpses lie in a common grave as two monks read heavy tomes. Indeed, many details in this illumination have defied convincing explanation. This is the sole illumination in this Office, which comprises three complete quires. A sampling of the text is given here.

Quire xiv

fol. 99

A Cemetery

An open grave with two wasted cadavers fills the foreground. Bones and gravediggers' tools are scattered along the front edge. Elevated tomb slabs and crosses are seemingly randomly placed throughout the background. Behind the grave, two monks read large codices, one on bended knee and the other sitting on one of the benchlike tomb slabs. A third man looks out from behind a memorial cross and appears to be pointing at either the blank tablet attached to it or the open grave before it while holding his other hand near his mouth. The meaning of this enigmatic figure lurking behind the tabula rasa is obscure. It is likewise unclear why there are two long-dead bodies in the grave rather than the single corpse of a recently deceased, as one would expect. As the Office of the Dead was usually introduced with the image of mourners reciting the Office around a bier, the choice of subject matter here and the meaning of its details remain mysterious. The rose central cross, the red book cover, and other spots of pinks and blues give relief to the otherwise rather drab palette.

* *

Antiphona Placebo. Psalmus Dilexi quoniam exaudi et Dominus // vocem oracionis mee. Quia inclinavit autem suam michi, et in diebus meis in- [fol. 99v] *vocabo. Circundederunt me dolores mortis et pericula inferni invenerunt me. Tribulacionem et dolorem inveni et nomen Domini invocavi. O Domine, libera animam meam.*

Antiphon. I will please. Psalm [114] I have loved, because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer. Because he hath inclined his ear unto me: and in my days I will [fol. 99v] call upon him. The sorrows of death have compassed me, and the perils of hell have found me. I have met with trouble and sorrow and I called upon the name of our Lord. O Lord, deliver my soul.

99
ant Placebo. Psalmus
uocem oracionis mee.
ilem quoni
uia inclinauit
am exaudi
autem suam michi:
et dominus
et in diebus meis in

99

fol. 101

Psalmus Magnificat anima mea Dominum et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo, salutari meo. Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue. Ec- [fol. 101v] *ce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones. Quia fecit michi magna, qui potens est et sanctum nomen ejus. Et misericordia ejus, a progenie in progenies, timentibus eum. Fecit potenciam in brachio suo, dispersit superbos mente cordis sui. Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles. Esurientes implevit bonis et divites dimisit inanes. Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus // est misericordie sue. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in secula. Requiem.*

Psalm [Luke 1:46–55]. My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God, my Savior. Because he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaid. For [fol. 101v] behold, henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. Because he who is mighty hath done great things for me, and holy is his name, and his mercy is from generation to generation on those that fear him. He hath shown might with his arm, he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their thrones, and hath exalted the lowly. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent away empty. He hath given help to Israel, his servant, being mindful of his mercy. Just as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his posterity for ever.
Requiem.

fol. 102v

Oracio Deus indulgenciarum, Domine, da anime famuli tui N. cujus anniversarium deposicionis diem commemoramus refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, luminis claritatem.

Prayer. O Lord, God of mercies, grant to the soul of thy servant N., the anniversary of whose day of burial we commemorate today, a place of rest, the tranquillity of blessedness and the brilliance of light.

fol. 109

Lectio quinta [fol. 109v] *Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis, qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur et fugit velud umbra et numquam in eodem statu permanet. Et dignum ducis super hujuscemodi aperire oculos tuos, et adducere eum tecum in judicium? Quis potest facere mundum de inmundo conceptum semine? Nonne tu, qui solus es? Breves dies hominis sunt, numerus mensium ejus apud te est. Constituisti ter//minos ejus, qui preteriri non poterunt. Recede ergo paululum ab eo ut quiescat, donec optata veniat, et sicut mercenarii, dies ejus.*

Fifth Lesson [Job 14:1–6] [fol. 109v]. Man born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries. He comes forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and flees as a shadow, and never continues in the same state. And dost thou think it worthwhile to open thine eyes upon such a one, and to bring him into judgment with thee? Who can make him clean who is conceived of unclean seed? Is it not thou who only art? The days of man are short, and the number of his months is with thee. Thou hast appointed his boundaries which cannot be passed. Depart a little from him, that he may rest, until the day he longed for finally comes, as that of a hireling.

fol. 117v

Psalmus Ego dixi in dimidio dierum meorum, vadam ad portas inferi. Quesivi residuum annorum meorum, ita [canceled] *dixi, non videbo n* [canceled] *Dominum Deum in terra vivencium. Non aspiciam hominem ultra et habitacionem quietis. Generacio mea ab // lata est et convolupta est a me quasi tabernaculum pastorum. Precisa est velut a texente vita mea dum adhuc ordirer succidit me de mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Sperabam usque ad mane, quasi leo sic contrivit omnia ossa mea. De mane usque ad vesperam finies me sicut pullus yrundinis sic clamabo meditabor ut columba. Attenuati sunt oculi mei suscipienter in excelso.*

Canticle of Ezechias [Isaiah 38:10–20]. I said in the midst of my days, "I shall go to the gates of hell. I sought the residue of my years." I said, "I shall not see n[cancelled] the Lord God in the land of the living. I shall behold man no more, nor the abode of rest." My generation is at an end, and it is rolled away from me, as a shepherd's tent. My life is cut off, as by a weaver. While I was yet but beginning, he cut me off: from morning even to night thou wilt make an end of me. I hoped until morning, as a lion so hath he broken all my bones. From morning even to night thou wilt make an end of me. I will cry like a young swallow, I will meditate like a dove. My eyes are weakened looking upward.

fol. 121

Oracio Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam ad preces nostras quibus misericordiam tuam supplices deprecamur ut animam famuli tui et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum qua de hoc // seculo migrare jussisti in pacis ac lucis regione constituas et sanctorum tuorum jubeas esse consortes.

Prayer. Incline thine ear to our petitions, O Lord, by which we humbly implore thy mercy, that the soul of thy servant and the souls of thy servants and handmaids, which thou hast commanded to depart from this world, may be received by thee in a country of peace and light, and admitted to the company of thy saints.

1. For a more detailed discussion, see Wieck in Baltimore 1988, pp. 124–36, and Wieck in New York 1997, pp. 117–32.

Hours of the Passion

The Hours of the Passion are rarely included in Books of Hours and illustrations of the Passion generally accompany the Hours of the Cross, a standard component. The Hours of the Passion are an expanded version of the Hours of the Cross in that they include Lauds and are therefore sometimes referred to as the Long Hours of the Cross. The Short Hours of the Cross, however, are not merely a reduced version of the Long Hours of the Cross, but an office in its own right. Whereas the Hours of the Virgin, as the core text, are usually the most generously illuminated, in the *Belles Heures* the Hours of the Passion are accorded this distinction. Matins opens with three illuminations, and the remaining Hours each begin with two. In this regard, the *Belles Heures* is unique. Why the duke chose to place such prominence on the Hours of the Passion is unclear. The Office opens with an invitatory ("Come, let us adore the king, Christ, our Lord, who was crucified."), followed by a series of four Psalms—94, 58, 87, and 93—interspersed with antiphons. Next are three lessons that detail aspects of the Passion: Isaiah 53 ("But he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins"); Matthew 26–27 ("behold Judas . . . with him a great multitude with swords and clubs"); and Matthew 27 ("And stripping him, they put a scarlet cloak about him. And plaiting a Crown of Thorns, they put it upon his head").

The ensuing Hours are shorter in length, with each generally comprising a hymn, one psalm, interspersed with antiphons, versicles, and responses, and ending with a prayer. At the end of Matins, a two-line rubric in the blue and magenta ink used in the picture cycles announces Lauds, and the remaining Hours each end with a single-line rubric in blue signaling the next, except for Compline, which calls out the end of the Office. Nones, however, is erroneously introduced as Terce ("ad iii passione do."). The closing prayer exhorts the reader to identify with the suffering of Christ (". . . make us, we beg thee, to abound in the compassionate tears of thy Passion, to mourn thy Passion always with our heart's utmost devotion, and to hold fast to it, refreshed with ardent desire.").

Quire xvii

fol. 123

Agony in the Garden (*Matins*)

Two episodes are conveyed in this affecting illumination. In the far background Christ prays in the garden of Gethsemane enclosed by a wattle fence. His pending sacrifice is symbolized by the chalice and Eucharist and by the Cross that God hands to him. After his prayers, Christ returns over a plank crossing the Cedron, here given a shimmering surface by the application of silver and glaze, to awaken his three slumbering disciples and to warn them of his imminent betrayal. The snake in the cleft in the rocky outcropping behind may be a reference to the traitor Judas. Down the distant road are the walls of Jerusalem. Bundled in a blue mantle, Peter keeps his hand near his sword with which he will cut off the ear of Malchus in defense of Christ. The young John nestles in sleep against the older apostle. Christ gently lays his hand on James. It is an exceptionally tender scene, in sharp contrast with those that follow. The peaked hill behind frames and unifies the group, and its outline is echoed by the raised knees of Paul and John. The pale and muted palette of costumes harmonizes with the landscape and brings a sense of quiet serenity.

* *

Domine, labia mea aperies et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam. Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will tell forth thy praise. O God, come to my aid.

123

fol. 123v

The Betrayal (*Matins*)

Judas in near profile approaches from behind to kiss Christ, who, in anticipation, turns his head back. Peter has severed the ear of Malchus and obeying Christ sheathes his sword. Christ reaches to touch and heal the wound of the slumped figure. A soldier, head averted, sprawls on the ground before Christ. The densely packed crowd bristles agitatedly with raised staffs, spears, and an arm holding up a lantern. The overlapped figures with little or no intervening space are flattened, but the varied palette isolates and defines the principal figures. The modulated green ground and tessellated backdrop are the only indications of setting.

* *

Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Invitatorium.

O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Invitatory.

fol. 124

Christ before Caiaphas (*Matins*)

Christ, almost lost in the dense knot of soldiers, head in profile and isolated by a gold halo, faces Caiaphas. The high priest sits on an elaborate raised cathedra set on a diagonal. He holds a massive sword upright as two counselors whisper false testimony in his ear. Again the modulated green ground and tessellated backdrop are the only suggestions of setting, which appears to be exterior, although interior would seem more appropriate. The mass of figures around Christ is a counterweight to Caiaphas on his large throne, and the blank space between the two further polarizes the composition. The vertical of the standard with a fluttering banner visually hems in the group around Christ.

* *

Regem Christum crucifixum Dominum venite adoremus. Psalmus Venite exultemus, Domino jubilemus Deo salutari nostro preocupemus fa- [fol. 124v] *ciem ejus in confessione et in psalmis jubilemus ei.*

Come, let us adore Christ the King our crucified Lord. Psalm [94] Come, let us praise, let us sing joyfully to the Lord, the God of our salvation, let us meditate [fol. 124v] on his face in confession and let us praise him in psalms.

123v (detail)

124 (detail)

fol. 131v

The Mocking of Christ (*Lauds*)

Christ sits stoically with hands in his lap as a mob torments him. A soldier behind places a hand over Christ's eyes, a seated figure points, and a kneeling figure gapes. Several raised arms add to the sense of agitation and brutality. A high priest in white robes, wearing a miter and holding a crosier, looks on impassively. Cool blues and magentas are interrupted with patches of hot orange-reds that amplify the frenzied action and contrast with the cool white of the placid high priest. The raised knee of Christ gives foundation to his serenity. The composition is spatially ambiguous, as the colonettes that frame the scene are seemingly at the front of the picture plane, yet many of the figures appear to be in front of the arcade that the colonettes support. The tiled floor imparts a sense of recession in this densely populated space.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.// Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 132

The Flagellation (*Lauds*)

Christ is bound to the central column of what appears to be an open loggia, although the underlying space is quite shallow. Dressed only in a breechcloth, Christ impassively—almost meekly—endures his torment. A variety of facial types, and again raised arms, here holding scourges, adds to the sense of tumult. The kneeling figure behind Christ pulling on the bindings leans forward, his head greatly foreshortened. Pink and green tiles suggest spatial recession to the busy background of golden bending boughs on deep blue. The similar settings and arrangements of figures and gestures appear to be a deliberate attempt on the part of the Limbourg brothers to unify the two facing images.

* *

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Antiphona Contristatus // Exaudi Deus. P. Oracionem meam et ne despereris deprecacionem [fol. 132v] *meam intende michi et exaudi me.*

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Antiphon I am grieved. Psalm [54] Hear, O God, my prayer, and despise not my supplication, [fol. 132v] be attentive to me and hear me.

131v (detail)

132 (detail)

fol. 135v

Christ before Pilate (Prime)

Christ is brought before Pilate, who sits on a large elevated cathedra leaning toward Christ and holding up the sword of justice in one hand, while the other is raised with an admonishing finger. Christ is viewed three-quarters from the rear; foreshortening has distorted his face. Soldiers clutch at his robe, and a kneeling figure pointing with a finger imparts false evidence to the Roman governor. The fleur-de-lis background suggests a cloth of honor. Raised banners, tapers, and halberds visually add to the commotion. Patches of orange-red enliven the otherwise rather muted palette.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.// Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 136

Pilate Offers to Release Christ (Prime)

According to custom the Roman governor would offer the release of a prisoner at Passover. The unruly crowd asks for Barabbas rather than Christ. As the Jews could not enter the judgment hall until after Passover, Pilate appears in a colonnaded balcony above the assembled throng to hear its verdict. To achieve the necessary height for the extension, the Limbourg brothers have scraped away a section of the bryony leaf and tendril border. The heads of the two thieves who will be crucified with Christ can be seen in the window of the turreted prison at the right. The inventive figure in a blue mantle just to the right of the central axis is completely averted and strains to look up at the balcony, one hand raised.

* *

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Hympnus // Tu qui velatus facie fuisti sol justicie fleris illusus genibus cesus quoque [fol. 136v] *verberibus.*

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Hymn. Thou art the sun of justice, yet thine eyes were covered, thou wast mocked with genuflections and [fol. 136v] beaten with scourges.

135v (detail)

136 (detail)

fol. 138

Pilate Washes His Hands (Terce)

Christ, hands bound within the sleeves, stands before Pilate to hear his verdict. Realizing that he cannot dissuade the crowd, Pilate condemns Christ, whom he knows to be innocent. Holding his hands over a basin, he washes his hands with water poured from a ewer by a kneeling servant as a public disavowal of responsibility. Behind him stands his wife who attempted unsuccessfully to convince Pilate to free Christ. In the tradition of Hrabanus Maurus, she was viewed not as a positive figure, but the incarnation of the devil because she tried to prevent Christ's sacrifice on the Cross and thereby deny the redemption of humankind.[1] The positioning of Pilate's covered throne echoes the diagonal arrangement of the figures that anchor the composition. The man in a pink cloak lined in white fur, seen in profile at the near right corner, puts his hand to his mouth in apparent horror of the events unfolding before him. His spatial relationship to Pilate, however, is quite unclear as his arms seem to disappear behind Pilate's robe. The richness of modeling and the varied palette of the numerous costumes against the muted greens that dominate the setting bring greater sculptural depth to the figures.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende. // Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 138v

The Carrying of the Cross (Terce)

Christ in a pale purple robe carries the Cross over his shoulder while looking back at his mother, who mournfully attempts to ease his burden by holding up the arm of the Cross. John the Evangelist looks on in anguish. The figure of Christ seems oddly limp with the draping of the robe revealing little of the underlying anatomy. The procession, issuing forth from the city gates, is led by a man holding a banner, several soldiers, and an exotically dressed fellow blowing an oliphant, all of whom add an unseemly festive note to this woeful occasion. The charivari-like atmosphere is heightened by the bright colors and fanciful details of the processors' costumes. A curious stave fence of diminutive scale closes off the lower left corner. As is the case with many of the images in this cycle, the setting is minimal with a modulated green ground and a patterned backdrop. Here, however, an iconographic detail has been added to the background: Judas, the traitor, using a ladder against a tree has hanged himself.

* *

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Ymnus // Hora qui ductus tercia fuisti ad supplicia Christe ferendo humeris crucem pro [fol. 139] *nobis miseris, fac nos sic te diligere sanctamque vitam ducere ut mereamur requie frui celestis patrie.*

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Hymn. Christ, who at the third hour was led to torment carrying the cross on thy shoulders for the sake of [fol. 139] our miseries, make us love thee and lead holy lives that we may deserve to enjoy rest in the kingdom of heaven.

138 (detail)

138v (detail)

fol. 141v

Christ Nailed to the Cross (Sext)

In this crowded composition, the Cross and Christ's body which it bears are set diagonally to the image frame in a welter of detail that is essentially on the vertical. It almost seems that the Cross hovers above the ground. A large and crude nail awaits to be driven into his right hand, as a man is doing with the feet. Nearby lies an underdrawn but unpainted Crown of Thorns. The averted figure in the foreground spades a hole for the base of the Cross. With the Limbourgs' interest in the practical, various types of tools are scattered about. In the upper left corner a man on a ladder bends over the top of the Cross to hoist up the good thief; he is so foreshortened as to appear completely out of scale. A dark rocky hill indicates the rugged terrain of Calvary. The bright patches of color in the costumes again add a note of agitation to the scene. Christ appears to focus all his attention on a devil hovering overhead; is the devil waiting to seize the soul of the bad thief or is he lingering to see if the redemption of man will yet fail?

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.// Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 142

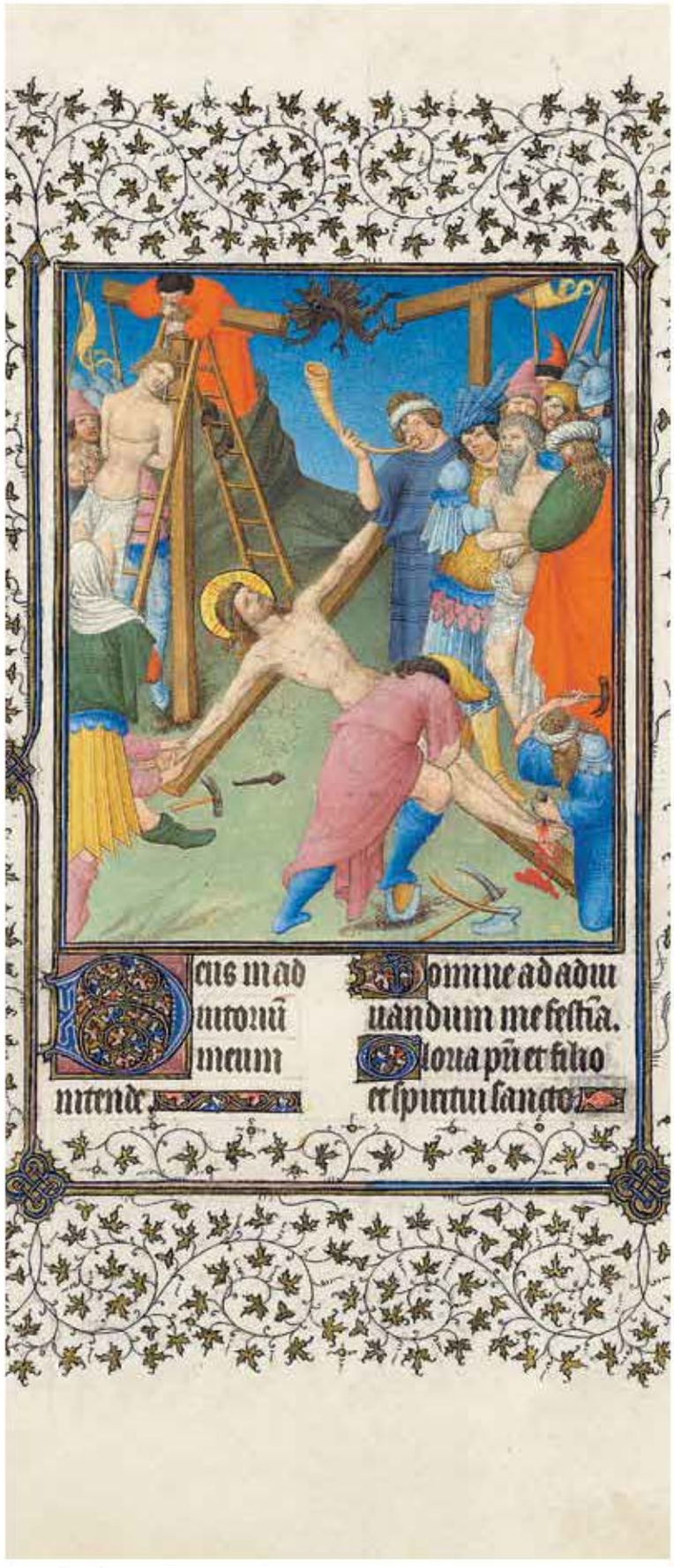
Christ Offered the Sop (Sext)

In the first of three Crucifixion scenes, the Limbourg brothers created a rigorously symmetrical composition with the Cross as the central vertical axis, flanked by carefully balanced groupings. The Virgin in a weighty deep blue mantle sits in the lower left corner, one knee raised, a position that basically replicates that in the Nativity (fol. 48v). John the Evangelist in the opposite corner, face averted and in a contrasting rose-pink mantle, essentially assumes the reverse position. The long pole with the vinegar-soaked sponge is echoed by and parallel to the banner staff held by a soldier on the other side of the Cross. The two facing groups of spectators are balanced, and their groupings are hinted at by the outlines of mountain peaks behind them. The bristling spears extend the verticality of the two facing groups that effectively frame the Crucifixion. The ground is more detailed and the color more modulated than in other illuminations in this cycle. The meanders of golden boughs on red form a textilelike backdrop to the crucified Christ. At the left edge a soldier holds a shield in the form of an agonized face.

* *

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Hympnus // Crucem pro nobis subiit et stans in illa sicut Jhesus sacratis mani- [fol. 142v] *bus clavis fossis et pedibus.*

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Hymn. For our sake Jesus suffered the cross, and hanging on it he thirsted, his hands [fol. 142v] and feet pierced with nails.



141v (detail)

142 (detail)

fol. 145

Christ Pierced with a Lance (Nones)

In a somewhat less insistently symmetrical composition, the three crucified figures are now set off against a deep blue sky that intensifies as it rises above the horizon. Behind, the rising peaks of nearly equal mass partially frame the triadic group. The group to the right is anchored by the averted figure in an orange-red mantle playing dice with two others for the robe of Christ. The bright mantle of the dice thrower rests on top of the painted frame of the picture entering the viewer's space. The opposite group centers on the figure of centurion Longinus, who pierces the side of Christ with a lance. The Limbourg brothers here illustrate a rarely depicted scene from *The Golden Legend*. Longinus, according to legend, was inflicted with an eye disease, and he is shown here with his lids shut as a companion helps him to direct the lance. The blood and water that ran down the lance are said to have cured his ailment on touch. As a result he converted to Christianity and became a monk at Caesarea of Cappadocia.[2] The thieves have had their limbs broken and blood runs forth from their wounds. One soldier leaning on his spear seems to be either resting or watching the soldiers throw dice in the lower right corner. The shield with the agonized face again appears at the left edge of the miniature. Intense blues, pinks, and orange-reds all set off by the grayish green of the setting dominate the palette.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.// Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 145v

The Death of Christ (Nones)

> Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour Jesus . . . when he had cried out with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost . . . and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened and many bodies of the saints which slept arose . . . Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly saying, Truly this was the son of God (Matt. 27:45–54).

In this highly unusual treatment, the Limbourg brothers have illustrated the eerie darkness that overtook the earth at Christ's death. A cometlike streak of light blazes through the sky behind the repentant thief and seems to gaze at the wound in Christ's side. The rocks have been broken in half, the dead arise through clefts in the ground raising their hands in supplication, and the soldier holding his spear falls back into his comrades in terror. Others look up at the scene aghast. The unnaturalness of daytime darkness depicted in varying tones of gray is enhanced by the addition of a meteor trail in the sky. The Limbourg brothers revisited an eclipse scene in the *Très Riches Heures* and there captured the unearthly greenish cast to the light that characterizes a total solar eclipse. The greater verisimilitude may well have been due to their witnessing of the solar eclipse over Paris on June 16, 1406. If this was the case, it would seem that the *Belles Heures* scene had already been completed before this celestial event.

* *

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Ymnus // Beata Christi passio sit nostra liberacio et per hanc nobis gaudia para- [fol. 146] *ta sint celestia.*

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen. Hymn. May the blessed Passion of Christ be our deliverance, that by it we may attain [fol. 146] the joys of heaven.

145 (detail)

145v (detail)

Quire xx

fol. 149

The Deposition (Vespers)

Nicodemus on a ladder with one arm over the transverse of the Cross lowers the body of Christ, as Joseph of Arimathea, also on a ladder, supports the weight. Unusually, the feet of Christ are still attached to the Cross. The right hand of Christ rests limply across the Virgin's shoulder as she gazes mournfully at the face of her son. The statuesque figure of the Virgin is responded to by Mary Cleophas at the right in a bright orange-red mantle trimmed in gold, who reverently holds the Crown of Thorns with covered hands. The mountain pinnacles echo the erect flanking groups. The sky is an even more intense blue than that of the Virgin's cloak. Fewer figures of grander scale lyrically arranged make this one of the finer compositions in this cycle.

* *

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.// Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

O God, come to my aid. O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

fol. 149v

The Lamentation (Vespers)

The upper part of the empty Cross stands starkly against an intense but modulated triangle of blue between the upright mourners on the left and the responding rugged outcropping on the right. In the center the seated Virgin holds Christ's limp arm and is surrounded by a triangular grouping of John the Evangelist with a hand over his eyes, a woman in a wimple placing a compassionate hand on the Virgin's head, and a standing woman who rends her long blond tresses in agonized grief. The bloodied figure of Christ, head falling onto his shoulder, is laid on a white shroud parallel to the transverse of the Cross. The strikingly foreshortened figure of Mary Magdalen on her knees wiping the feet of Christ with her hair fills the lower right corner. This is the most elegantly composed and grippingly charged image in the cycle.

* *

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen. Antiphona Misit Deus. Psalmus // Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit anima mea.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Antiphon. God hath sent. Psalm [56] Have mercy on me, O God, have mercy on me, for my soul trusts in thee.

149 (detail)

149v

fol. 152

Entombment (*Compline*)

Joseph of Arimathea with the help of two others lowers the torso of Christ into a pale violet sarcophagus. Near Christ's head one of the holy women holds the Crown of Thorns, which in Jean de Berry's lifetime was a treasured royal relic housed in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. A figure in a green mantle holds a golden container of balm or spices. The Virgin Mary kneels on the far side of the sarcophagus and holds Christ's limp hand against her pale cheek. Behind and to the left stands a mourning woman. With a foreshortened head lifted up to heaven she grasps at her long hair in despair. Her remonstrations contrast with the quiet anguish of the Virgin. The torso of Christ is set off by the blue and lavender tones of the adjacent materials. White passages punctuate a palette of relatively saturated colors. The diagonal of the tomb is echoed in the lines of the hills in the background.

* *

Converte nos Deus salutaris noster. // Et averte iram tuam a nobis. Deus in adjutorium meum [fol. 153] *intende.*

Look upon us, O God of our salvation. And turn thine anger away from us. O God, come to my [fol. 153] aid.

fol. 152v

The Soldiers at the Tomb (*Compline*)

Three soldiers slumped over have fallen into heavy sleep while guarding the tomb. One, in the lower left, leans against a shield with a grotesque face that stares out eerily at the viewer. The gaily colored and fanciful costume of the soldier in the lower right corner contrasts with the austerity of the closed sarcophagus. The soldier's curved form is mirrored by the arced outcropping in the corner diagonally opposite. This peculiar geological formation and the facing hill in the middle ground frame the background landscape. From the edges of woods, the barren mount of Calvary rises with three crosses, the central one empty and the flanking ones still bearing the bodies of the thieves. In the far right distance the walls and towers of Jerusalem loom, and lines of clouds float in the modulated blue sky. This is the most developed landscape in the cycle.

* *

Domine, ad adjutorium me festina. Gloria Patri et Filio et // Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum.

O Lord, hasten to help me. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

1. Meiss and Beatson 1974, commentary for fol. 138.
2. *Golden Legend* 1969, p. 191.

152 (detail)

152v (detail)

Prayers to the Holy Spirit and to the Holy Trinity, the Story of Heraclius and the True Cross, and the Suffrages

The Suffrages open with two short prayers, one invoking the Holy Spirit ("allow us to recognize right things in that Spirit and to rejoice ever in its holy consolation") and the other the Holy Trinity ("to recognize the glory of the eternal Trinity in the confession of the true faith"), both of which are preceded by a brief sequence of antiphons, versicles, and responses. The ending rubric indicates that the Suffrage or Memorial (*Memoria*) of the Holy Cross follows, but at this point the Story of Heraclius and the True Cross is interjected. The duke had a particular fascination for the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Constantine, and Heraclius as they, respectively, were ruling at the time of the birth of Christ, his death, the establishment of the Christian Church, and the recovery of the True Cross. Between about 1401 and 1403 the duke purchased gold medals of these emperors. Long lost, the appearance of those of Constantine and of Heraclius is known through later copies in bronze, and the representation of Heraclius is, in turn, echoed in the depiction of the emperor conveyed in his *carrosse*, the opening image of this interposed picture cycle. After the two pages devoted to Heraclius comes the *Exultation of the Cross* and a brief prayer invoking its protection ("we beg thee, that those who rejoice in the honor of his Holy Cross may also rejoice in thy protection") signaling the beginning of the Suffrages proper. The Suffrages are brief prayers or memorials to the Virgin and to the ranks of saints, invoking their aid or protection, and usually accompanied by an antiphon and a least one versicle and response. There is no set number of Suffrages, and they can range from relatively few to a great number. In the *Belles Heures* there are fifty-two memorials, forty-seven of which are to saints or groups thereof (Peter and Paul; 10,000 Virgins), all but sixteen of which are illustrated. Surprisingly, Saints Catherine and Jerome, who otherwise enjoy great prominence in the manuscript, are not pictured, whereas John the Baptist, who has a picture cycle and a Mass, is. The personages are usually invoked according to their celestial rankings beginning with God, then the Virgin, the archangels, John the Baptist, the apostles, the male martyrs, the female virgin martyrs, and so forth, down the ranks. All Virgins, All Relics, All Saints, and the Peace of God are the last on the list in the *Belles Heures*. The texts below the full-page illuminations are given.

Quire xxi

fol. 155

Prayers to the Holy Spirit and to the Holy Trinity (fols. 155–155v)

Pentecost (Intercession of the Holy Spirit)

Through an archway enclosed by an angled wall or railing the Virgin, draped in a deep blue mantle, sits within a vaulted oratory with hands in an attitude of prayer as the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descends in golden rays of light from the vaulted ceiling above. The architecture is rendered in hues of pink, whereas the vaults are a blue almost as intense as that of the Virgin's mantle below. The Virgin is flanked by the apostles layered in such a way that only the tops of the heads and the halos of most of them are visible.

Trinity (Intercession of the Trinity)

The Trinity comprises three bust-length figures rising from a fold of violet cloth: God the Father in the center is crowned and bearded, embracing Christ on his right and the Holy Spirit on his left, here represented as a young man. A large open book is cradled in the cloth, and the group floats in a firmament of modeled blue with white clouds. The pink of the book and the blue of the sky harmonize in the violet that drapes the Trinity.

155

Descriptions and Texts of the Miniatures 187

Heraclius and the True Cross (fols. 156–156v)

fol. 156

Heraclius Returns with the Cross

The Golden Legend tells us that about A.D. 600 Chosroes, king of the Persians, sacked the holy places and took the True Cross back to Persia. Heraclius subsequently defeated Chosroes, recaptured the Cross, and brought it back to Jerusalem. Here Heraclius, wearing an exotic crown and a regal white mantle, holds a cross in one hand as he approaches the gates of Jerusalem, which are swinging closed. Riding in an elaborate *carrosse* drawn by a pair of horses, Heraclius and the procession, which includes servants and men-at-arms, is brought up short. The lead servant looks back at Heraclius for instruction. According to the legend an angel appeared above the gates reminding Heraclius that Christ entered Jerusalem on a lowly ass. That Heraclius is looking up suggests that the Limbourg brothers were aware of this detail, although they did not represent the angel. Most illustrations of the scene, following *The Golden Legend*, represent Heraclius on horseback, but here the image follows the representation of the emperor on the medal made for the duke, mentioned above (see fig. 121, p. 290). The texts below this illumination and the next were transposed in the manuscript.

* *

Circa annos Domini VI c Cosdroe, rex Persarum, sancta loca incendit et lignum sancte crucis in Persidem duxit contra quod Eraclius imperator ivit qui devicto Cosrdroa populum christianum cum sancta cruce Jherosolimam reduxit.

In about the year of the Lord 600, Chosroes II [Khosrow II], the king of the Persians, burned the holy places and took the wood of the Holy Cross into Persia. The emperor Heraclius moved against him and, having defeated Chosroes, escorted back the Christian people with the Holy Cross to Jerusalem.

fol. 156v

Heraclius Enters Jerusalem

Heraclius now wearing only a tunic—though he retains his crown—walks barefooted bearing the Cross over his shoulder. To equate the scene with the Road to Calvary, the Cross is now much larger and the emperor bends under its weight. Since the time of Constantine the place of the Crucifixion had been within the city walls. The gates are now wide open and the emperor enters followed by his entourage. A cobbled street leads over a bridge spanning a flowing stream. The green of the landscape deepens as it approaches the horizon. The gold-and-blue patterned background gives a celestial aura to the city.

* *

Hic dum ornatus regio scemate per portam quam Christus crucem bajulans exivit vellet intrare, porta diviniter clauditur eique humiliato rursum aperitur. Unde celebritas exaltacionis sancta cruces instituitur.

Here, when the emperor, dressed in royal garments, wished to enter through the gate which Christ had exited bearing the Cross. The gate miraculously closed to him, and, he having been humbled, it was opened once again. Whenceforth the celebration of the exaltation of the Holy Cross was initiated.

156 (detail)

156v (detail)

The Suffrages of the Saints (fols. 157–182v)

fol. 157

The Exultation of the Cross

According to *The Golden Legend*, Heraclius returned the relic of the Cross to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and composed the hymn sung at Vespers on the Feast of the Exultation. The double gold-and-bejeweled Cross is so large that the Limbourgs had to extend the upper frame into the border, which had to be partially scraped away, beheading the winged beast in the process. Four men, two on either side, kneel in adoration before the impressive Cross placed on an altar lit by twelve oil lamps. The dark green of the hilly background sets off the heads of the worshipers. The tessellated background enhances the bejeweled splendor of the Cross. The figure in the blue mantle wearing a brimmed and pointed orange-red and white hat adorned with lappets appears to be Heraclius, as the facial features are close to those in the previous representations, and he seems to be wearing the same tunic under his blue mantle. The other three, however, are of unknown identity. The man at the far left wearing a fur hat has at his side what appears to be a cylindrical basket with a taut cloth or skin cover. This curious object has appeared twice before in the manuscript: attached to the soldier at the left of *Heraclius Returns with the Cross* (fol. 156) and at the side of the averted figure at the right of *Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol* (fol. 15v). The double column of text and the elaborate border indicate that this illumination was part of the original plan and the preceding two images were interposed later.

* *

Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum // Omnis terra adoret te, Deus, psallat tibi. Versus Et psalmum dicat nomini tuo.

We adore thee, O Christ, and we bless thee because by thy Holy Cross thou hast redeemed the world. May all on earth adore thee, O God, and sing psalms to thee. Versicle. And recite psalms to thy name.

fol. 157v

Virgin and Child Enthroned (Commemoration of the Virgin)

The Virgin sits on a pale green throne with the naked Child on her lap and flanked by two musical angels, one with a psaltery and the other with a lute. The composition of this small illumination is unusual in that the Child sits sideways and largely averts his head to suckle, a naturalistic treatment that may well have been introduced to Paris by an Italian painter in the employ of the duke, known as the Master of the Brussels Initials.[1] The motif was later used by Jan van Eyck in *Virgin and Child at the Fountain*, 1439.[2]

* *

Memoria de Beata Virgine Maria // Salve regina misericordie, vita dulcedo et spes nostra, salve ad te clamamus exules filii Eve ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valeeya, ergo advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. . . .

Remembrance of the Blessed Virgin Mary // Hail, Holy Queen of mercy, our life, our sweetness, and our hope. Hail, to thee do we cry, exiled children of Eve, to thee do we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this valley of tears. Turn then, O most gracious advocate, thine eyes of mercy toward us. . . .

fol. 158

Saint Michael

The youthful archangel Saint Michael splendidly dressed in full armor and a pink mantle closed with a golden brooch, raises up his sword as he treads on the vanquished and chained devil. The creature, which has an unusually human demeanor, desperately makes an effort to free itself from the chain. The pinnacle in the background echoes the outline of the saint's wings.

* *

De Sancto Michaele. Antiphona // Angeli, archangeli throni et dominaciones principatus et potestates virtutes celorum, laudate Dominum de celis.

About Saint Michael. Antiphon. Angels, Archangels, Thrones, and Dominions, Principalities, Powers, and Virtues of the heavens, praise God from above.

157 (detail)

157v (detail)

158 (detail)

fol. 158v

Saint John the Baptist

Saint John the Baptist, one of the duke's patron saints, stands in a clearing before a stand of dense woods. The firmament above is rendered in deep azure blue with a pavée of fleurs-de-lis and a golden orb radiating red rays of light. He wears a camel-hair tunic under a mantle of soft pink. A small lamb rests on his covered left hand and he points to it with his right. When Christ appeared at the Jordan River to be baptized by John, the saint pointed to Christ saying, "Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). The phrase is repeated daily in the celebration of the Mass. The open book on the ground may refer to John's special position as the link between the Old and New Testaments, for he was viewed as the last of the prophets and the first of the apostles. The semicircular extension of this illumination, like that of the others of the same format in the Suffrages, was planned before the decorating of the borders, as the leaf and tendril pattern was designed to accommodate it.

* *

De Sancto Johanne baptista. Antiphona // Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major Johanne baptista qui viam Domino preparavit in heremo.

About Saint John the Baptist. Antiphon. Among those born of woman there has not risen one greater than John the Baptist, who made ready the way of the Lord in the desert.

fol. 159

Saint John the Evangelist

The youthful and fair-haired Evangelist, in a pale yellow robe and a deep blue mantle, holds a gold chalice with an emerging serpent. According to *The Golden Legend*, while John was preaching throughout Asia he was confronted by the high priest Aristodemus, who challenged him to drink poison as a proof of God's power. Two condemned men first drank the brew and promptly dropped dead, but when John drank it no harm befell him. The long scroll may be a reference to his many writings: a Gospel, Epistles, and the Book of Revelation. The greensward progresses from a yellowish to deep green as it recedes to the finely tessellated background.

fol. 159v

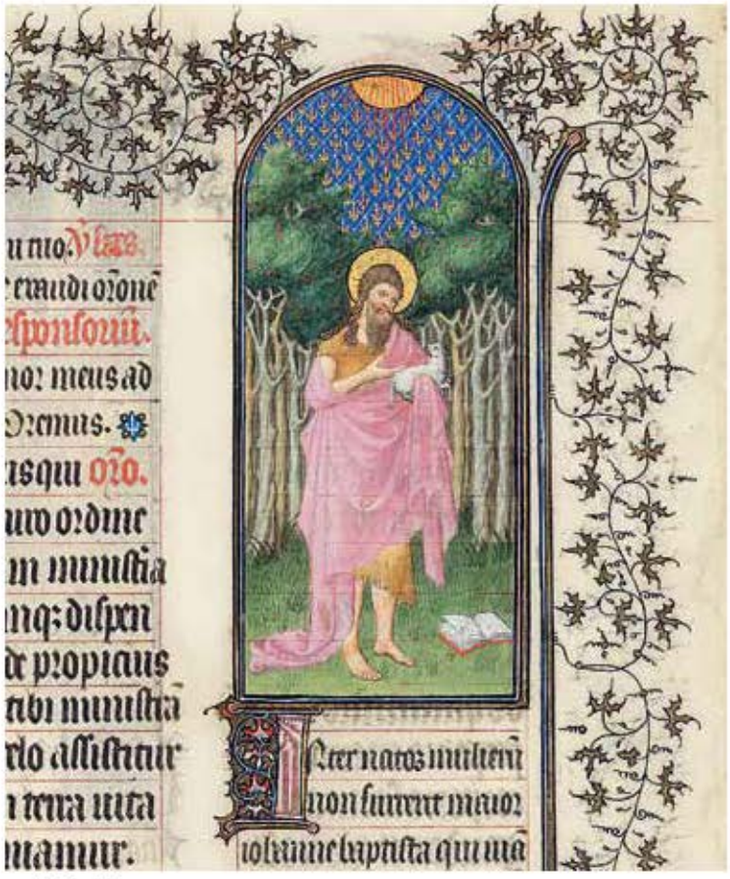
Saints Peter and Paul

The two saints stand on a greensward against an ornamental background of blue and gold. Each holds his attribute, the key and sword, respectively, and each holds a sacred book with a covered hand. The two were often paired as Peter was seen as the founder of the Church, whereas Paul was, through his teachings, thought to be the founder of Christian belief. Already in the fourth century Christ giving the keys to Peter and the law to Paul (*Traditio Clavis et Legis*) was established as a means of visually expressing the primacy of Peter and the importance of Paul. *The Golden Legend* relates the apocryphal story of Peter, according to which Peter while preaching in Antioch was thrown into jail to starve by the prefect Theophilus. Paul intercedes, and Theophilus agreed to free Peter if he could bring to life the prefect's son who had been dead for fourteen years. The miracle accomplished, all of Antioch converted to Christianity. The full sculptural folds of their drapery cascade down and gather on the ground at their feet. The muted pink, yellow, and violet tones are meticulously modeled.

fol. 160

Saint Andrew

Saint Andrew supports the saltire (X-shaped) cross by which he was martyred; one arm of it rests on top of a fold of his alb. Having refused to worship idols, Andrew is condemned to die on a cross; to extend his agony he was attached by ropes instead of nails. For two days he preached to twenty thousand people while hanging on the cross. The people recognized his innocence and demanded his release, but when soldiers approached to unbind him their arms were rendered limp. Andrew declared that he wished to join the Lord in heaven. The saltire cross does not appear much before the fourteenth century; it was introduced because it was thought that Saint Andrew should not share the same type of cross as Christ and Saint Peter. The low horizon and the minute tessellation of the background give this image the look of a micro-mosaic icon. Although the duke was born on Saint Andrew's Day, the saint who assumes a major role in other of the duke's manuscripts is here accorded only a minor presence.



158v (detail)

159 (detail)

159v (detail)

160 (detail)

160v (detail)

fol. 160v

Saint James the Greater

The haloed saint, staff in hand, stands frontally on an altar within a freestanding aedicule. The rather stiff and wooden stance of the figure indicates that we are looking not at Saint James but a statue of him. On either side two supplicants, each with a pilgrim's hat, staff, and scrip, raise their hands in supplication. It is possible that this image of the saint references the custom of the pilgrims' fraternity of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie to have a member impersonate the saint on his feast day.[3]

fol. 161

Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew

The apostle is bound and laid out on a tabletop supported by two tripod sawhorses. Three executioners begin to flay the martyr as a knot of officials looks on with stern impassivity. To firm up the support of the table as he rips a sheet of flesh off in his hand, one executioner plants his foot on the stretcher of the sawhorse while holding a knife in his teeth. The green landscape darkens as it approaches the horizon, and the walls and towers of a city rise over the crest of the hill. Above the gruesome scene in a semicircular extension is God the Father before a cloth of honor. Encircled by a phalanx of seraphim, He raises one hand in blessing and holds an orb in the other. As all the folios in the Suffrages are ruled for two columns of text, the inclusion of eleven full-page illuminations appears to be an early alteration in plan.

* *

Tradent enim nos in consiliis et in sinagogis suis flagellabunt nos et ante // reges et presides ducemini propter me in testimonium illis et gentibus. Versus Ora pro nobis beate . . . [fol. 161v] *Bertholome.*

For they will hand us over to the councils and in their synagogues they will punish us and we will be led before kings and rulers because of me, in testimony to them and to the people. Verse. Pray for us, blessed . . . [fol. 161v] Bartholomew.

fol. 162

Martyrdom of Saint Stephen

Stephen, the first of seven deacons ordained by the apostles and the first martyr, is impeccably dressed in a white alb and gold-trimmed pale apricot dalmatic. He kneels before Saul, his prosecutor, as a group of men hurls stones at him. Later Saul would experience a conversion and change his name to Paul. Stephen's martyrdom took place in the same year as Christ's ascension. In the lower left corner, a man dressed in an olive tunic bends over to pick up more stones; convincingly foreshortened, we see only the top of his head. The stone throwers wear a curious variety of hats. The irregular dark green of the landscape reaches to a particularly high horizon. Again, God with thick white hair and beard presides, but here in a circular aureole of golden rays above the picture frame rather than within an extension.

* *

Ostendit beatus Gamaliel per visum Luciano sacerdoti tres calatos aureos rollsis impletos et quartum argenteum croco plenum et dixit, hii sunt nostri loculi et nostre reliquie, hic [fol. 162v] *autem sanguineas habens rosas. Locutus est sancti Stephani qui solus ex nobis martirio meruit coronari.*

In a vision to the priest Lucian, blessed Gamaliel showed three golden baskets filled with roses and a fourth silver basket filled with crocus flowers and said, "These are our coffins and our remains, but his are those which have [fol. 162v] blood-red roses." He spoke of Saint Stephen who was the only one of us who was worthy to be crowned with martyrdom.

161 (detail)

162 (detail)

162v (detail)

fol. 162v

Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence

The saint is being chained to the grid by one man as another pumps a pair of bellows to fan the flames consuming the fagots underneath. The king and his entourage witness the martyrdom; above in a patch of blue sky God raises a hand in benediction while holding an orb in the other. The fire that consumed the archdeacon's body was likened to the three fires that burned within the saint: that of his faith, his love of the Lord, and his knowledge of God. The scene, which is quite complex for the format, may be a reduction of another composition either by or known to the Limbourg brothers.

Quire xxii

fol. 163

Saint Vincent Cast to the Beasts

Vincent of Saragossa, a deacon, was ordered by the governor Dacian to recant his faith; when Vincent refused, Dacian ordered numerous tortures to be inflicted upon the deacon, including being torn on the rack and burned on a grill as had been done to Saint Lawrence. Vincent nonetheless continued to declare his faith until he gave himself up to the Lord. In spite, Dacian ordered Saint Vincent's corpse to be exposed in the wilderness for the beasts to devour. Here, lions and a wolf circle the body, which lies on the ground in a rugged, rocky landscape. Clefts open up chasms in the earth. Descending from rays of divine light, a crow of disproportionately large size protects the body by keeping the wolf at bay. Dacian despairs as he realizes the saint's faith has defeated him even in death. The relics of Saint Vincent were venerated at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, not far from the duke's residence, Hôtel de Nesle.

fol. 163v

Saint Clement Cast into the Sea

Clement, who was born a Roman noble, and then converted to Christianity, was a disciple of Saint Peter's and eventually succeeded him as pope. Under the emperor Trajan, Clement was exiled to a distant desert. There he saw a lamb and recognized it to be Christ; when he tapped the spot where the vision stood, a spring burst forth. With these waters he baptized five hundred men a day; the temples were torn down and churches built in their stead. When Trajan heard of these events he had Clement seized, taken to sea, an anchor chained about his neck, and then thrown into the water. Clement's followers gathered at the shore and prayed to have his body recovered; the waters miraculously parted for a distance of three miles and at the end was a marble temple with an ark containing the saint's body and anchor at its side. In the Limbourgs' illumination, the exiled pope, bound to an anchor and still wearing a papal crown, is tossed into the frothy sea. The Limbourg brothers depicted many of their ships similarly.

163 (detail)

163v (detail)

264v

fol. 164v

Saint Eustace Loses His Sons

According to *The Golden Legend*, Eustace, a commander in Trajan's army, lost his wealth, position, and wife after he converted to Christianity. One day as he was traveling in exile with his two young sons he came upon a raging river too deep and powerful for the boys to cross. Eustace carried one boy across and as he was returning to get the other, a lion seized one son and a wolf carried off the other. Here in his moment of anguish at the loss of his boys, Eustace raises his open hands to shoulder height in a wan display of grief. By the intervention of God, the boys were saved and brought up in a nearby village; years later they were reunited with their mother and Eustace. The river is painted in rippling lines of gold with green glazes. Two rugged peaks in the background frame a distant rolling hill with a village tower set among trees. Above, a golden orb issuing forth golden rays of light signifies the presence of God.

* *

Cum sanctus martir Eustachius lugeret de filiis in uxore et filiis suis ab ipso, salu // taris rex de celo auditur, dicens confide, Eustachi, eris quippe recepturus uxorem letus cum filiis [fol. 165] *tuis.*

While the martyr Saint Eustace lamented the loss of the sons of his wife and her sons by him, the king of salvation was heard from heaven, saying, "Have faith, Eustace, thou shalt certainly be happy, because thou shalt soon receive thy wife along with [fol. 165] thy sons."

fol. 165

Saint Christopher

The giant saint dressed in an ocher tunic and pink mantle bears the small Christ Child across the river. The waters are painted in small rolls of blue and white giving the surface an odd, lumpy appearance. Though deep and treacherous the waters come up only to Christopher's calves. Yet leaning on his staff, Christopher struggles under the weight of the small Child, for he is unknowingly carrying the weight of the world. The golden boughs that fill the azure background almost appear to be an extension of the Child's radiance. The Suffrage beseeches the saint to protect against maladies of the head.

165 (detail)

165v (detail)

166v (detail)

fol. 165v

Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian

According to *The Golden Legend*, the emperors Maximian and Diocletian "felt so great an affection" for the young handsome Sebastian that they named him head of the guard. When they learned of his Christian faith they felt betrayed and had him shot with arrows. Miraculously surviving the ordeal, Sebastian returned several days later to berate the emperors for persecuting the Christians. Perhaps relying on another composition, the Limbourg brothers have had to place the archers at point-blank range in order to fit them within the composition.

fol. 166v

Martyrdom of Saint Denis and His Companions

Saint Denis, bishop of Paris and patron saint of Paris, was ordered executed along with his companions Saints Rusticus and Eleutherius. Two of the martyrs have already been decapitated, and the averted executioner energetically raises the ax to dispatch the third. In the foreground, still kneeling with blood spurting out of his neck, the martyr holds his mitered head. Saint Denis is said to have walked, carrying his head, to Montmartre (Mount of Martyrs), where he was buried, later to be translated to the royal abbey of Saint-Denis north of Paris.

fol. 167

Saint George Slaying the Dragon

Saint George in armor and on horseback is posed over the dragon, already impaled with a shattered lance, sword raised ready to deal the death blow. The princess Cleolinda, who had offered herself in sacrifice to the dragon in order to save her people, prays in the background. The lamb next to her is the last not already sacrificed to the dragon. George, as patron saint of kinghood, was often associated with the Crusades and the princess was likened to the Church. According to *The Golden Legend*, George with a red cross emblazoned on his armor was at the gates of Jerusalem when the city was retaken. Here the cross appears on his shield. In an unusual detail an angel hovering above the scene holds the saint's helmet. The two small dragons may signify that evil is never fully conquered.

* *

De Sancto Georgio Antiphona Cum autem beatus Georgius in nomine Dei martirium re // cepisset, venerunt Capadocie regionis viri excellentissimum et sanctum corpus ejus nocturno [fol. 167v] *silencio abstulerunt et preciosis conditum aromatibus sepelierunt in eadem civitate in qua martirium consummavit.*

About Saint George. Antiphon. But after blessed George had received his martyrdom in the name of God, men came to Cappadocia who snatched this most excellent and holy body in the dead of night [fol. 167v], and buried it, once it was treated with precious perfumes, in the same city in which his martyrdom had been carried out.

167
De sancto georgio ā.
Cum autem beat
georgius in no
mine dei martirium re
cepisset uenerunt capa
docie regionis uiri excel
lentissimi et sanctum
corpus eius nocturno

167

fol. 168

Saint Nicholas Saves Travelers at Sea

As a sailing boat founders in the frothy sea two men attempt to launch a lifeboat. Above, the bust-length figure of Saint Nicholas, wearing a bishop's miter and borne on an azure cloud, blesses the seafarers and grasps the crow's nest, stabilizing the shattered mast. The travelers look up and raise their hands to beseech him. The stormy gray sky in the upper right gradually clears toward the left, where another ship sails tranquilly. The sea is painted with silver, white, and blue producing a shimmering turbulence. The atmospheric effects, created by the uncommonly free brushwork in the sky, are highly unusual for the time.

* *

De Sancto Nicholao. Antiphona Sanctus Dei Nicholaus pontificali decoratus in sua omni//bus se amabilem exibuit. Ora pro nobis Versus beate Nicholae. Responsorium Ut digni efficiamur [fol. 168v] *promissionibus Christi.*

About Saint Nicholas. Antiphon. Nicholas, the saint of God, robed in his pontificals, showed himself loving to all. Versicle. Pray for us, blessed Nicholas. Response. That we may be made worthy [fol. 168v] of the promises of Christ.

fol. 169

Saint Martin and the Beggar

The Golden Legend tells us that Saint Martin, as a conscript in Constantine's army, passed through the gates of Amiens one winter's day and encountered a naked beggar. Without hesitation Martin divided his cloak in two, giving one piece to the beggar to wrap himself in. Here the beggar, naked but for some tattered britches, dons the piece of robe, his head hidden from view behind the horse. He leans on a walking stick and a bandaged stump is attached to a peg leg. The Limbourg brothers introduce a second man, identified as a pilgrim by his scrip and broad-brimmed hat, holding out an alms bowl, to no apparent avail. The flask at the edge of the cobbled road presumably belongs to the pilgrim, whose presence here is unaccounted for. Out of a patch of blue sky interrupting the tessellated background, an arm reaches out holding a pink cloth that matches Saint Martin's hood. This may be a reference to a dream the saint had in which he saw Christ wearing the same robe Martin had given the beggar.

* *

De Sancto Martino. Antiphona O quantus luctus, O quanta precipue lamenta monachorum // et virginum chorus quia pium et gaudere Martino et pium est flere Martinum. Versus.

About Saint Martin. Antiphon. O what mourning, O what eminent lamentation of monks and of the choir of virgins, for it is both pious to rejoice in Martin and to lament him. Versicle.

fol. 170

Saint Anthony of Padua Stills a Storm

In this rarely depicted scene, Saint Anthony, the founder of the Franciscan order in France and a famed orator, preached to a large crowd outside a cathedral entrance. Suddenly a storm gathered and people began to flee, but Anthony, recognizing the work of the devil, forbade them to do so. The sky darkened, thunder clapped, lightning struck, and hail fell on a distant peak. But Anthony raised his hand and issued a benediction, which sent the devil fleeing, clutching a lightning bolt. The storm dissipated and the sky turned blue. This event was said to have taken place in Bourges, the principal seat of the duke. The browns of Anthony's and his companion's robes are beautifully modeled, rendering deep supple folds. The massive and equally well-executed folds of the foreground figure anchor the group seated before the pulpit. The red vaulting glimpsed through the tall portal emerging from the left margin gives a bright punctuation mark to the muted green-gray tones of the architecture.

* *

O proles Hyspanie, pavor infidelium, nova lux Ytalie, nobile depositum Padu//ane, fer Anthoni gracie Christi patrocinium ne prolapsis venie tempus breve creditum defluat [fol. 170v] *mane.*

O son of Spain, terror of the infidels, new light of Italy, who reposes in noble Padua. O Anthony, grant the protection of Christ's grace lest the brief time of belief should degenerate into justification of the fallen.

168 (detail)

169 (detail)

170 (detail)

Quire xxiii

fol. 171

Saint Francis Receives the Stigmata

Before a tall, narrow portal that is almost identical to that in the previous miniature, Saint Francis, founder of the Franciscan order, kneels and holds up his hands; blood pours from his palms, side, and one visible foot, emulating the wounds of Christ, who appears on a cross in a patch of blue sky marked with wispy white clouds. The saint seems to sway backward as though in ecstasy, and the folds of his robe gather about his bleeding feet, while his companion behind also raises his head to witness the vision but crosses his hands against his chest in reverential dismay. The upper part of the rugged outline of the greensward is flecked with blue, as though reflecting the brilliant patch of blue sky in which the vision of the crucified Christ appears.

* *

O stupor et gaudium, o judex homo mencium, tu, nostre milie currus et auriga // ignea presentibus transfiguratum fratribus in solari specie verxit te cadriga in te signis [fol. 171v] *radiens, in te ventura nunciens, requievit spriritus dupplex prophetarum.*

O astonishment and joy, O judge of the minds of men, thou art both the chariot and the charioteer of our army, the fiery four-horse chariot bore thee, transfigured in appearance like the sun in the presence of your brothers [fol. 171v], glowing with signs unto thee, announcing unto thee things to come, the twofold spirit of the prophets abided in you.

171

fol. 172

Saint Ambrose

Saint Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, is known for having baptized Saint Augustine, but here he is baptizing three youths in a tub, a scene of uncertain identity. As Saint Gregory is invoked on the same folio, the Limbourg brothers may have thought this was Gregory whom they were depicting, for Gregory the Great did baptize three blond Anglo-Saxon boys he encountered in the slave market in Rome.[4] The blue of the bishop's mantle appears particularly saturated in comparison to the pale blue of the water.

fol. 172v

Saint Augustine

The Church father is seated on the ground, one knee raised upon which he writes on an unfurled scroll. His miter is placed on the ground behind, and he looks heavenward to see the half-length figure of God the Father holding the Crucifix. This vision, which inspires the saint's writing, would normally be the Trinity, but the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove has been omitted.

fol. 173

Saint Louis before Damietta

The chronicler Jean de Joinville recounts that Louis IX of France, Saint Louis, departed Aigues-Mortes on August 25, 1248, leading his first crusade. His wife, Queen Marguerite, and the papal legate, a Cistercian monk by the name of Eude, accompanied the king, behind whom both are depicted. The king, wearing armor and a large crown surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, raises his hands in prayer. Three ships under full sail, flying royal pennants and packed with soldiers, head through an extraordinarily narrow cleft in a conically shaped rock. Beyond across a gulf, on a high horizon, lies the city of Damietta near the mouth of the Nile. Minaret-like towers rise above the city walls. In a great victory, King Louis and his army conquered this infidel stronghold. The sea, frothing against the ships and rocks, is painted in parallel waves; white and blues touched with gold and silver give it a brilliant shimmering and exotic appearance.

* *

O rex egregie condam rex Francie Ludovice pie cum rege glorie triumphans hodie pro // pace requie regni eterne Christum deprecare. Versus Ora pro nobis beate Ludovice. Responsorium.

O distinguished, pious Louis, once king of France, who is today triumphant with the king of glory, pray to Christ for peace and rest in the eternal kingdom. Versicle. Pray for us, blessed Louis. Response.

172 (detail)

172v (detail)

173 (detail)

fol. 174

Saint Charlemagne

Charlemagne, seated on an imposing throne with crocketed spires on each corner, wears armor, an imperial crown surmounted by a black eagle, and a pink and gold-trimmed mantle, and holds a sword in one hand and stabilizes an orb resting on his knee with the other. With an extended armored leg, full beard and long hair, and draped in cascading folds, he cuts an impressive figure. Although a throne room would be more appropriate, the scene is somewhat ambiguously set on a greensward. The Valois princes claimed descent from Charlemagne as king of the Franks, and thereby independent from the Holy Roman Empire. The heraldic shield born by an angel above in the semicircular extension of the picture frame underscores the point: an imperial eagle impaled by the royal French fleur-de-lis. The azure and gold background repeats the royal colors.

* *

O spes afflictis, timor hostibus, hostia victis, regula virtutis, viris via, forma // salutis Karole servorum pia suscipe vota tuorum. Gloria et honore coronasti eum Domine.

O Charles, hope of the afflicted, terror of your enemies, a ransom for the conquered, standard of virtue, path of men, and form of salvation, accept the pious offerings of thy servants. O Lord, thou hast crowned him with glory and honor.

174

174v (detail)

175 (detail)

fol. 174v

Saint Maurus

Saint Maurus was chosen by Saint Benedict to establish the Benedictine order in France. He appears here full-faced and of ample build holding an abbot's crozier and a book, perhaps the Rules of the Order. Although the Benedictines usually wore black habit, no particular color was specified and here Saint Maurus wears brown. The tessellated background has the appearance of a mosaic of minute tesserae.

fol. 175

Saint Benedict

The founder of the oldest Western monastic order and its strict rule, Benedict was venerated for his many acts of healing, especially exorcism and relief of mental illnesses. The austere Benedict raises his hand in blessing. The red staff of the crozier stands out against the rich black of the habit. Like that of Saint Maurus, the setting consists only of a greensward and a similar tessellated background.

fol. 175v

Saint Bernard

The third of the Benedictine saints, Bernard is represented slightly more frontally, supporting a red-staffed crozier in his left hand and a massive tome in the other. A bit of his alb peeks out of the folds of his mantle at his feet. The azure background, with gold lines ruled in square compartments, resembles a rich woven textile.

175v (detail)

176v (detail)

fol. 176v

Saint Mary Magdalen

The Magdalen kneels before Christ, and with her long tresses of blond hair, which completely obscure her face, she dries the feet of the Savior. Christ in a pale blue mantle over a deep blue robe holds a book in his covered left hand and raises his right in benediction. The supple deep folds of the drapery leading up to and then cascading from his left hand are echoed in the crevasses of the green mountain peak at the left.

fol. 177

Saint Margaret Emerging from the Dragon

Saint Margaret was swallowed by the devil in the form of a dragon, but when she made the sign of the cross, she miraculously emerged from within. *The Golden Legend*, in an unusual turn, claims that the legend has no bearing in fact, but repeats it nonetheless. The saint is shown in prayer unsullied by the bloody gore. Because of this incident, Saint Margaret was often invoked to deliver children safely. The white and blue of her dress and the green of the dragon and deep red of its blood recall the palette of contemporary enameling on gold (*émail-en-ronde-bosse*), a technique much favored by the Valois princes.

177 (detail)

178 (detail)

fol. 178

Saint Agnes

Saint Agnes, whose legend is featured on the *Royal Gold Cup* (see fig. 19, p. 19), rejected the Roman husband chosen for her, as she considered herself mystically married in the service of Christ. As a punishment she was consigned to a brothel, but miraculously her hair grew so long and thick that it covered her body, and in the brothel an angel covered her in a light that was so bright no one could see her, an episode not found on the *Royal Gold Cup*. Here with her hands held in prayer, two men lead her to the brothel; she is covered not by long tresses but by fine body hair.

fol. 178v

Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and Eleven Thousand Virgins

Ursula was the daughter of the king of Brittany and was betrothed to the king of Britain who was a pagan; Ursula agreed to accept him only if he accepted Christianity, was baptized, and would send eleven thousand virgins to accompany her on a pilgrimage to Rome. On their return by ship down the Rhine, Huns at Cologne slaughtered Ursula and her companions. The ship, under full sail as it approached the embankment of the city gates, looks very much like that of Saint Louis at Damietta (fol. 173). Soldiers board the ship and viciously attack the women strewing corpses and

178v (detail)

body parts about. The standing woman in blue near the stern of the ship who raises her head and hands beseechingly to heaven must be Ursula herself. The head on the quay in the foreground suggests causality for the many head reliquaries of Ursula and her companions, the cult of which was centered in Cologne. Such a head reliquary is mentioned in the inventories of the duke of Berry.[5] The waves, which appear more sealike than riverlike, are frothy white about the ship and quay but become darker and more silvery in the distance. On the far side of the river, a walled city rises in the distant haze.

* *

Prudentes virgines, aptate lampades vestras, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam //ei. Versus Cadent a latere tuo mille. Responsorium Et decem milia a dextris [fol. 179] *tuis.*

Prudent maidens, prepare your lamps, behold the spouse who arrives, to go out to meet him. Versicle. A thousand fall at thy side. Response. And ten thousand at thy right [fol. 179] hand.

179 (detail)

179v (detail)

Quire XXIV

fol. 179

Saint Agatha

Agatha, who refused the Roman governor Decius, was punished, like Agnes, by being thrown into a brothel and subjected to a variety of afflictions, one of which is depicted here. Tied to a column, only the top of which can be seen oddly rising between her head and her halo, and stripped to the waist, Saint Agatha suffers her grotesque torture. It is believed that Saint Peter appeared and healed these horrible wounds. Her torturers struggle with their unwieldy pincers. The one on the left lifts up his knee and braces it against her body to gain leverage. Her *hanchement* (S-curve stance), rounded stomach, and placid expression give her at once an air of vulnerability and serenity.

fol. 179v

Beheading of Saint Lucy

For her Christian beliefs, the counsel Paschasius gave Lucy over to a brothel, but when men came to carry her away she became so heavy that no number could move her. In a rage Paschasius ordered a sword driven through her throat, not the beheading depicted here. The composition is essentially the same as the analogous scene in the Saint Catherine cycle (fol. 19v) but in a smaller format. The saint kneels on the ground in prayer with a fold of her mantle draped over her arm, blindfolded, and her hair falling over her forehead thus baring her neck to the executioner. Only green ground, an outcropping, and a tessellated backdrop define the setting.

fol. 180

Saint Cecelia

Cecelia, a devout Christian, agreed to marry the Roman Valerius on the condition of sexual abstinence; curiously, he agreed, provided that the guardian angel who watched over his wife would be made visible to him. According to *The Golden Legend*, Saint Cecelia was martyred in a vat of boiling water; but with no apparent source of heat, it is not the water, but the sword that is the lethal threat. The averted soldier holds her head up by the hair as he raises his sword to behead her. The dark mountain peak counterbalances the executioner. Above, divine light is emitted from a celestial disk.

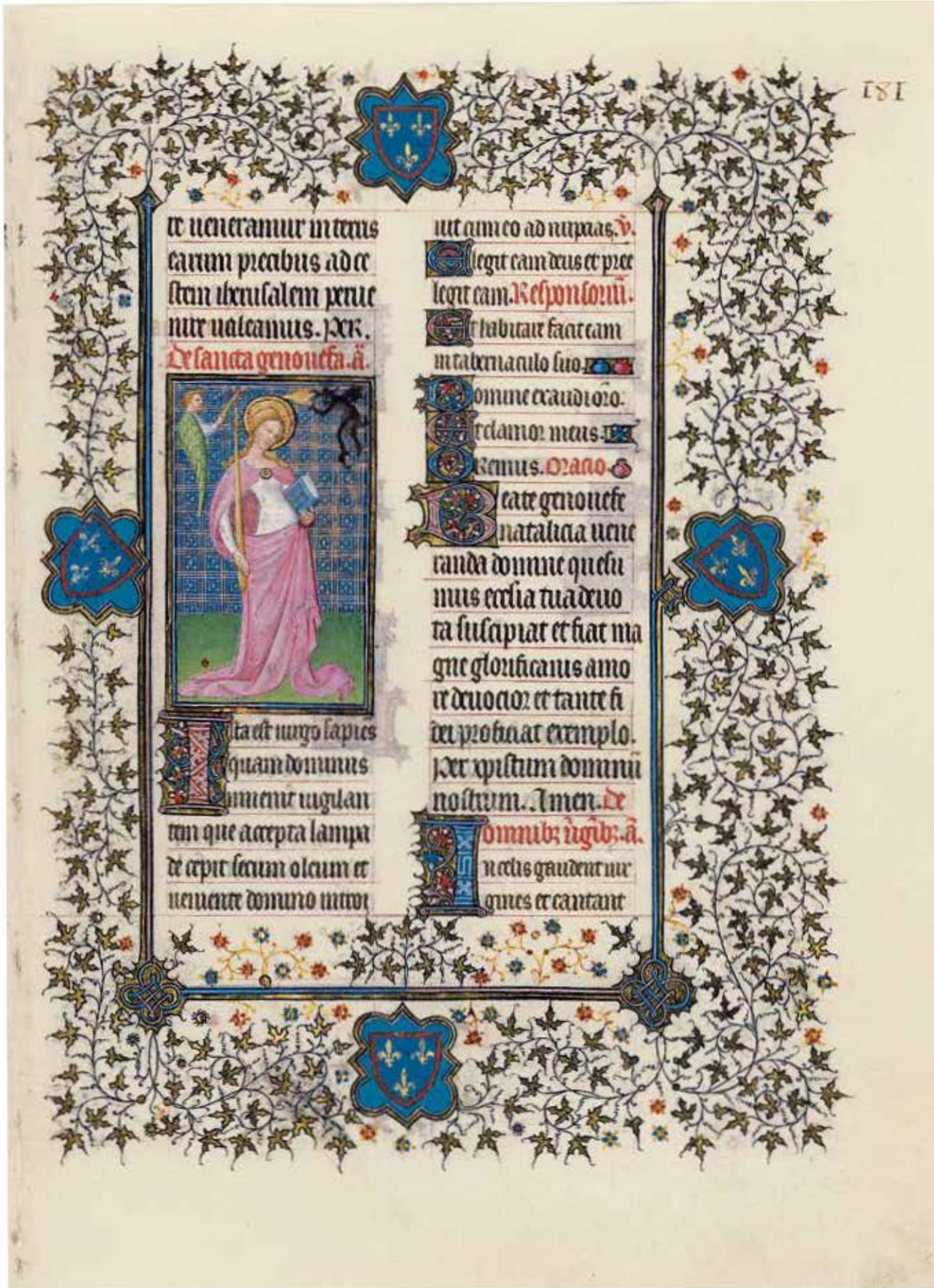
fol. 181

Saint Geneviève

The elegant figure with accentuated *hanchement* (S-curve stance) is dressed in a white robe and a billowing pink mantle. Holding a book in one hand and a tall candle in the other, she is likened to one of the wise virgins who filled their lamps with oil. Her eye cast downward, she seems oblivious to the combat above her head. A diminutive devil attempts to extinguish her flame with a pair of bellows, while a half-figured guardian angel protects it with the flame of a taper. Saint Geneviève was a patron saint of Paris where Jean de Berry spent more and more of his time later in life. Four shields with the duke's arms are set in medallions in the borders.

180 (detail)

1. Meiss and Beatson 1974, fol. 257. The Master of the Brussels Initials is so called for the historiated initials he produced in the *Très Belles Heures de Jean de France* (*Brussels Hours*) for the duke (see fig. 59).
2. The painting is in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.
3. Meiss and Beatson 1974, p. 259.
4. Ibid., p. 260.
5. Guiffrey 1894–96, vol. 1, p. 56, no. 136: "Item, un chief d'une des XI mille vierges . . ." (a reliquary head of one of the 11,000 virgins).



181

re ueneramur in terris
earum precibus ad ce
stem iherusalem perue
nire ualeamus. Per.
De sancta genouefa. ā.

Ista est uirgo sapiens
quam dominus
inuenit uigilan
tem que accepta lampa
de cepit secum oleum et
ueniente domino introi
uit cum eo ad nupcias. ℣.
Elegit eam deus et prae
legit eam. Responsorium.
Et habitare facit eam
in tabernaculo suo.
Domine exaudi oratio.
Et clamor meus.
Oremus. Oratio.
Beate genouefe
natalicia uene
randa domine quesu
mus ecclesia tua deuo
ta suscipiat et fiat ma
gne glorificanis amo
re deuocior et tante fi
dei proficiat exemplo.
Per xpistum dominum
nostrum. Amen. De
Omnibus uirginibus. ā.
In celis gaudent uir
gines et cantant

181

The Story of Saint Jerome

Jerome, like Catherine and Raymond Diocrès who precede him, is cast as a figure of scholarly attainment. The intellectual authority of Jerome was invoked earlier in the use of his words to sanction the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse (fol. 97v): "The city is a prison, the desert a paradise." Tiring of the dry language of the prophets, Jerome, grounded in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, began an intensive study of classical writers, Cicero by day and Plato by night, according to *The Golden Legend*. His fascination with classical literature, however, seriously conflicted with his deep-seated faith, causing Jerome considerable and often extreme torment. Indeed, in a dream he is rebuked by God and beaten by angels for his predilection for pagan literature. And by his own account he suffered all manner of ordeals during his years in the wilderness. The anguished aspects of his life are not addressed in the imagery of this cycle, even though they are in the texts. Rather, the focus is more episodic, highlighting events in his ecclesiastical career or engaging incidents from his legend, such as Jerome's dressing in women's clothing, and the story of the lion and the thorn. Following his dream of rebuke, Jerome, in penitence, devoted himself entirely to the scriptures, spending fifty-five and one-half years translating the Bible. It is this pursuit that prompted artists beginning in the early fourteenth century to depict the saint in a study surrounded by books and other scholarly accoutrements. It was an image of the saint that appealed to Charles V and one that he apparently enjoyed in the form of a gold and enameled *joyau*,[1] a lavish object that no doubt Jean de Berry would have envied and one that he easily matches in this unprecedented cycle of images.

Quire xxv

fol. 183

Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers

Although described in *The Golden Legend*, the representation of this scene is unprecedented. Seen through a triple arcade with pendentive spandrels supported at both ends by bundled colonettes, a scholar sits on a raised cathedra with an attached turnscrew lectern before him. Looking over the open book he discourses on classical (pagan) literature before a small group of men sitting on the floor in the medieval manner. Foremost in the group is Saint Jerome with a tonsure, a golden halo, and his arms crossed over his chest. The bearded men at the back of the group are looking up at their learned instructor in rapt attention; the man in the pale rose robe with a white fur lining raises his right arm as if to gesture. Jerome and the clean-shaven young man next to him, on the other hand, look away from the speaker and seem somewhat distracted from the proceedings. Jerome may well be struggling with his inner conflict, as he expressed it, "How can Horace go with the Psalter, Virgil with the Gospels, and Cicero with the Apostle of the Epistles?"[2] The soft, rich blue of the professor's robe, delineated in supple curvaceous folds, and the pink of his headdress contrast with the more muted tones of his immediate surroundings. The interior is elaborated with tracery windows, blind arcades, recesses, and both barrel- and rib-vaulted ceilings. The pink and pale sage tiles provide a measure of spatial depth as they recede into the interior spaces. The pale ocher of the wood cathedra-lectern is echoed in the barrel vaulting above, as the rib vaulting reflects the pink tones of the tile below. The text describes not this scene but the one that follows.

* *

Cum Jeronimus negletis libris propheticis insisteret platonicis, tam sev[er]a febre corripitur ut vitalis calor in suo pectore palpitaret et ante tribunal judicis christianum se esse proficetur, cui judex mentirisque ciceronianus.

When Jerome, having neglected the books of the prophets, insisted on reading the books of Plato, he was seized by a terrible fever, so that sudden warmth filled his chest, and he professed himself to be a Christian before a judge's court. To him the judge said, "Thou art speaking falsely, for thou art a rhetorician."

183

fol. 183v

Saint Jerome's Dream

The Limbourgs here devised a composition in two horizontal zones. Below, Saint Jerome lies on a rush mat supporting his head in his hand in the medieval convention indicating sleep. The supporting tile floor, in the same color scheme as that in the preceding illumination, runs to the horizon and is mystically detached from any evident architectural construct. Above, floating against the celestial blue, Jerome, stripped to the waist and no longer tonsured, kneels with hands raised in prayer before the seated figure of God the Father holding the sword of judgment and supported by a multitude of seraphim. The Almighty points accusingly at the "Ciceronian," as Jerome renounces classical literature in favor of the scriptures. But two angels, showing no mercy, raise flays with which to flog the repentant. The two groups counterbalance each other, although the browns, white, and flesh tones pale against the rich violet of God's robe, the gold of his collar, halo, and crown, and the fiery red of the surrounding seraphim. The text here describes the consequences of the encounter related in the previous caption.

* *

Tunc judex durissime cedi jubet, clamat Jeronimus, Domine, miserere mei, quia si in hiis libris plus legero te negabo, et statim dimissus revivixit, lacrimis perfusus, et super scapulas terribiles reperit cicatrices.

Then the judge harshly ordered him to yield. Jerome exclaimed, "O Lord, take pity on me! If I read any more of these books, I will deny thee," and immediately released, his spirit was revived. He was overwhelmed with tears, and discovered terrible scars above his shoulders.

fol. 184

Saint Jerome Is Ordained as a Cardinal

In a rigorously organized composition, Jerome, entirely draped in brown habit and fully averted, kneels before the pope seated on an elaborate cathedra. Wearing a papal crown he leans forward with one hand raised in blessing and the other holding a cardinal's hat, which he extends toward the haloed saint. Other cardinals seated in finely carved choir stalls witness the event while seemingly discussing its importance among themselves. Two mitered bishops seated in the foreground look on. In strict symmetry, the cardinals, three and three, as well as the two bishops, flank the kneeing saint who is placed on the central axis. Multiple orthogonals described by the choir stalls, the seated cardinals and their vivid red hats, and even the floor tiling, draw the eye toward the center of the composition and the drably clothed monk, sharply contrasting with the brilliant white, blue, and red robes of the surrounding figures. His physical features are entirely hidden, but the gold halo underscores his spiritual status. All these figures are embraced in the warm blond tones of the woodwork, which is in turn set off by the intense cerulean blue sky. The monastic habit of Jerome also reminds the viewer that he never wished to rise in the ecclesiastical ranks. The medieval mind, however, could not accept that the translator of the Bible and one of the four Church fathers could be a mere presbyter, so popular belief, long after his death, elevated Saint Jerome to the rank of cardinal.

* *

Tanto autem studio libros divinos extunc legit quanto libros Gentilium unquam legerat, profecitque in sacris scripturis et sanctitate vite quod dum esset annorum XXX ab ecclesia Romana presbiter cardinalis ordinatus est.

From that point on he read the divine books as zealously as he had ever read the pagan ones, and he progressed in the sacred scriptures, and in holiness of life, so that when he was 30 years old he was ordained as a cardinal priest by the Roman church.

183v (detail)

184 (detail)

fol. 184v

Saint Jerome in a Woman's Dress

Rarely depicted, this scene describes a practical joke played on Saint Jerome by his fellow monks. A strict proponent of discipline within the monastic community, Jerome was not amused. Indeed, according to *The Golden Legend,* it was this trick that drove Jerome from Rome forever. The architecture provides a setting for each of the two successive episodes: at the right in a vaulted cell Jerome assumes the sleeping position while one of his colleagues places a blue dress where the saint will readily find it. Waking drowsily for Matins, the preoccupied Jerome dons the dress instead of his habit. At the left, Jerome enters the church oblivious to his ridiculous attire. Two of the monks seated in the choir stall engage in whispered comment on this bizarre behavior. The bright blue of the fabric framed by an arcade in both parts of the story makes the dress glaringly evident against the drab pale green of the architecture and the austere brown habits.

* *

Mortuo autem Liberio papa, Jeronimus dignus summo sacerdocio ab omnibus acclamatur sed derisus turpiter a quibusdam, vestem muliebrem pro sua induit et ad matutinum derisus ab eis tante insanie, locum dedit.

Following the death of Pope Liberius, Jerome was considered by all to be worthy of the highest priesthood, but was mocked shamefully by certain people, when he put on women's clothes instead of his own, and was derided by them at Matins to such madness that he fled the place.

fol. 185

Saint Jerome Leaves Constantinople

In another two-part narrative, Jerome, at the left, bids farewell to Gregory of Nazianzus, the eminent theologian, here dressed as a bishop, as the haloed saint prepares to depart the capital of the Eastern Empire. Behind the bishop a procession of monks exits through the portal of a vaulted edifice before the city gates. In a separate scene to the right, Jerome, with golden rays of light instead of a halo, sits in the bow of a sailing ship intently reading a book as a sailor mans the rudder. Two other ships embark into the rippled sea of gold and silver, as a great galley with a red canopy approaches. An immense towered city rises behind a distant shore. White froth rides the shimmering waves in the foreground and about the ships. The Limbourgs here choose to illustrate the calm sea voyage rather than the trials Jerome endures in the wilderness alluded to in the caption.

* *

Et ad Gregorium Nazanzenum, Constantinopolitane urbis episcopum, venit a quo postquam sacras litteras didicit, ad heremum properavit ubi quinta sustinuerit, ad Eustochium scribit, Scalida cutis sicut Ethiopice carnis addit.

And he came to Gregory Nazianzen, the bishop of the city of Constantinople, following which he became familiar with the holy scriptures, and he hurried to the desert where he endured for five [years]. He wrote to Eusebius and added that his skin was burned as that of an Ethiope.

184v (detail)

185 (detail)

fol. 185v

Saint Jerome Contemplates the Holy Sepulchre

Seen through a transept portal, Jerome on bended knees contemplates the Holy Sepulchre, apparently through a communicating passage into the circular *tempietto* that houses Christ's tomb. Soldiers sleeping against the tomb recall those slumbering in the scene of the Resurrection of Christ. Over Jerome's shoulders hangs not a cardinal's hat but a brimmed felt hat like that often worn by a flagellant, such as those seen in a procession following the Great Litany (fol. 74v). The architecture is elaborated with tracery windows and relief panels of acanthus-like foliage, whereas the brick red of the vaulted ceiling in the *tempietto* and the gray-blue standing-seam roofing visually enliven the structures. In contrast to the previous scene, the landscape here is reduced to a modulated greensward and a tessellated sky. This scene and the next are accompanied by texts drawn from Jerome's letter to his pupil Eustochium describing the trials and tribulations the saint endured in the wilderness. But in keeping with the theme of the cycle, the illumination here references the saint's spiritual attainments rather than his physical deprivations.

* *

Quociens in heremo constitutus et illa solitudine vasta exusta solis ardoribus que horridum monachis habitaculum prestat, putavi me Romanis interesse deliciis, horrebant sacco membra deformia.

"Residing in the desert and in the vast solitude parched by the rays of the sun, which watches over the little wild home of monks, how often did I think about life among luxuries in Rome, as my deformed limbs shriveled in my ragged clothes."

fol. 186

Saint Jerome Is Tempted by Dancing Girls

Within the gates of a walled city, two young women in fashionable garb converse. Their pale features are warmly radiant against the cool sand color of the ornate architecture behind them, which is punctuated by loggias, towers, and stepped gables. Kneeling in the open portal leading into the two-storied elevation and vaulted interior of a church, Jerome, with hands clasped in prayer, turns his head to look back at the temptresses. A diminutive devil assists in directing the saint's gaze by turning his head and pointing toward the ladies. At the saint's knees resting on the pink tiled floor is his cardinal's hat with the knotted tassels trailing across the ground. A ridged conical mountain rises in the gap between the city and the church suggesting an extensive landscape. The supple and meticulously modeled folds of the saint's robe contrast with the sharp-edged details of the architecture and landscape. The text suggests that the scene occurs only in Jerome's dreams.

* *

Quotidie lacrime, quotidie gemitus, et si quando repugnatem sompnus opresisset, humo vix ossa herencia colidebant, et cum scorpionum tamen socius, sepe choris puellarum interesse et sola libidinum incendia.

"Daily tears, daily groans, and whenever I would fight off sleep, I would press myself against the ground, just to hold my bones together. Scorpions were my only companions, and I would often imagine myself to be among choirs of girls and so in the fire of my lusts."

185v (detail)

186 (detail)

fol. 186v

Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw

Jerome resting on one knee administers to the lion that, sitting in profile, extends his paw to the saint. Standing behind the lion is a monk holding a ewer and towel while three more monks behind Jerome exclaim in astonishment as they witness the scene. Set in an open landscape with a mountain peak covered in green in the middle ground and a jagged mountain peak in the distance behind, the company of monks gathers before the arched opening of their monastic compound, pale violet in color. At the right of the image is an elaborate, multitiered fountain in a soft pink stone, which acts as a visual counterbalance to the main group. The pale yellowish green of the foreground deepens in color as it recedes to the middle ground. Near the lower edge of the picture frame, Jerome's book and his emblematic cardinal's hat lie on the ground. The background is rendered as a field of gold fleurs-de-lis on ultramarine. This miniature is exceptional for the quality of the brushwork, particularly in the modeling and shading of the monks' robes. The paint has been built up from the darker to the lighter tones by a flawless application of paint in velvetlike textures. The application follows the contours of the folds and builds up layers in an almost sculptural manner, providing some of the most painterly and beautiful passages in the manuscript. The legend of the lion who in gratitude for the extraction of a thorn remained faithful to Jerome originated with another monk by the name of Gerasimus, but the tale became associated with Jerome and remains one of his most enduring legends.

* *

Quadam die, leo claudicans monasterium ingressus est. Jeronimus autem, cum ceteri fugerent, quasi hospiti obviat. Leo pedem ostendit qua adhibita cura, diligenti liberatur et omni feritate preposita, inter eos habitat.

One day, a limping lion entered the monastery. Although the others fled upon seeing him, Jerome welcomed him as a guest. The lion extended his paw to him and was freed with [Jerome's] exacting care, and he lived among the monks, relinquishing all ferocity.

fol. 187

The Lion Finds the Missing Ass

Multiple images relate the narrative in this illumination. Jerome, believing that the lion had been sent by Providence for the benefit of the monastery, decided it should be employed to protect the ass used to haul firewood. In the middle ground the lion is sleeping near the peacefully grazing ass. In a part of the tale not illustrated, a caravan of traders comes along and takes the ass away with them. When they discover the loss, the brethren are convinced that the lion attacked and ate the ass. As a punishment the lion is forced to fill the ass's role as a beast of burden. In the far background near the edge of the woods the lion is being loaded up with firewood. Later the lion sees the caravan led by the lost ass and charges the group, driving it in its entirety to the entrance of the monastery. The terrified traders kneel before Jerome beseeching protection. The lion, shown here with his burden tumbling off his back and followed by the woodsman, is thus exonerated. The ass is only partially visible among the traders. Both lions and camels are thought to have been known to the Limbourgs on a firsthand basis, as the duke of Burgundy, the Limbourgs' first patron, kept lions as the emblem of his duchy and Jean de Berry had a camel tended by a special keeper.[3]

* *

Alia autem vice, custodiens asinum leo, sompno gravatus dormivit, asinum perdit, exspergefactus rugiens, socium non reperit. Hincinde querit asinum a longe, venientem videt cum camellis quos ad monasterium fugere coegit.

However, on another occasion the lion, who was caring for a donkey, was deep in sleep and thus lost the donkey. When he awoke, he roared, but could not find his friend. Henceforth the lion sought the donkey, until he saw him from far away coming with camels, which he corralled into the monastery.

186v (detail)

187 (detail)

fol. 187v

Saint Jerome Translating the Bible

Seen through a double arcade looking into a vaulted space, by all appearances a church or chapel but according to the text a manger in Bethlehem, Jerome sits in a cathedra before a circular book stand surmounted by an eagle. The faithful lion sits near a bank of pews looking intently at his master. A slender colonette separates the two into balanced spaces. The blue and yellow floor tiling is echoed in the blue vaults and yellow bosses. Above, behind a crenellated parapet, are three of the sixteen prophets whose books Jerome translated. In a detail unique to this illumination, the prophets are living and not images in stone, as are all other analogous figures in the manuscript. A narrow gap at the left allows a glimpse of greensward and the deep blue sky above. Elements of this illumination as well as of *Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers* (fol. 183) are found in a large ink and tempera drawing now attached to the opening of the *Bible moralisée*, which the Limbourgs worked on from 1402 until 1404 (see "The Limbourg Brothers" in this volume).

* *

Per quadriennum, igitur Jeronimus in heremo penitencia peracta, ut prudens animal ad presepe Domini Bethleem remeavit, ubi circa translacionem Biblie ac Sacrarum Scripturarum LV annis et VI mensibus desudavit, virgo permanens.

Jerome practiced penance in the desert for a period of four years, until his wise soul traveled to the manger of the Lord in Bethlehem, where during 55 years and 6 months he labored on the translation of the Bible and the sacred scriptures, the Virgin enduringly by his side.

fol. 189

The Death of Saint Jerome

The Golden Legend does not provide the details of Jerome's death and burial, but those were recorded in *The Lives of the Fathers*, a French translation of which appears in Jean de Berry's 1402 inventory.[4] Jerome died in his monastery in Bethlehem in A.D. 420. He is shown here in a hair shirt rather than his habit outside the monastery entrance. Above the body two angels transport his soul up to God the Father who appears on high in the celestial realm, one hand held up in blessing and the other holding an orb as divine light radiates from above. A group of monks has gathered at the left while a counterbalancing group of his companions issues forth from the entrance of the monastery. The head of one monk at the left overlaps the picture frame, intruding into the viewer's space. The scene is set in the barren expanses of the wilderness with browns dominating the palette. Only the divine beings and the cerulean heavens they inhabit bring relief to the drab coloration.

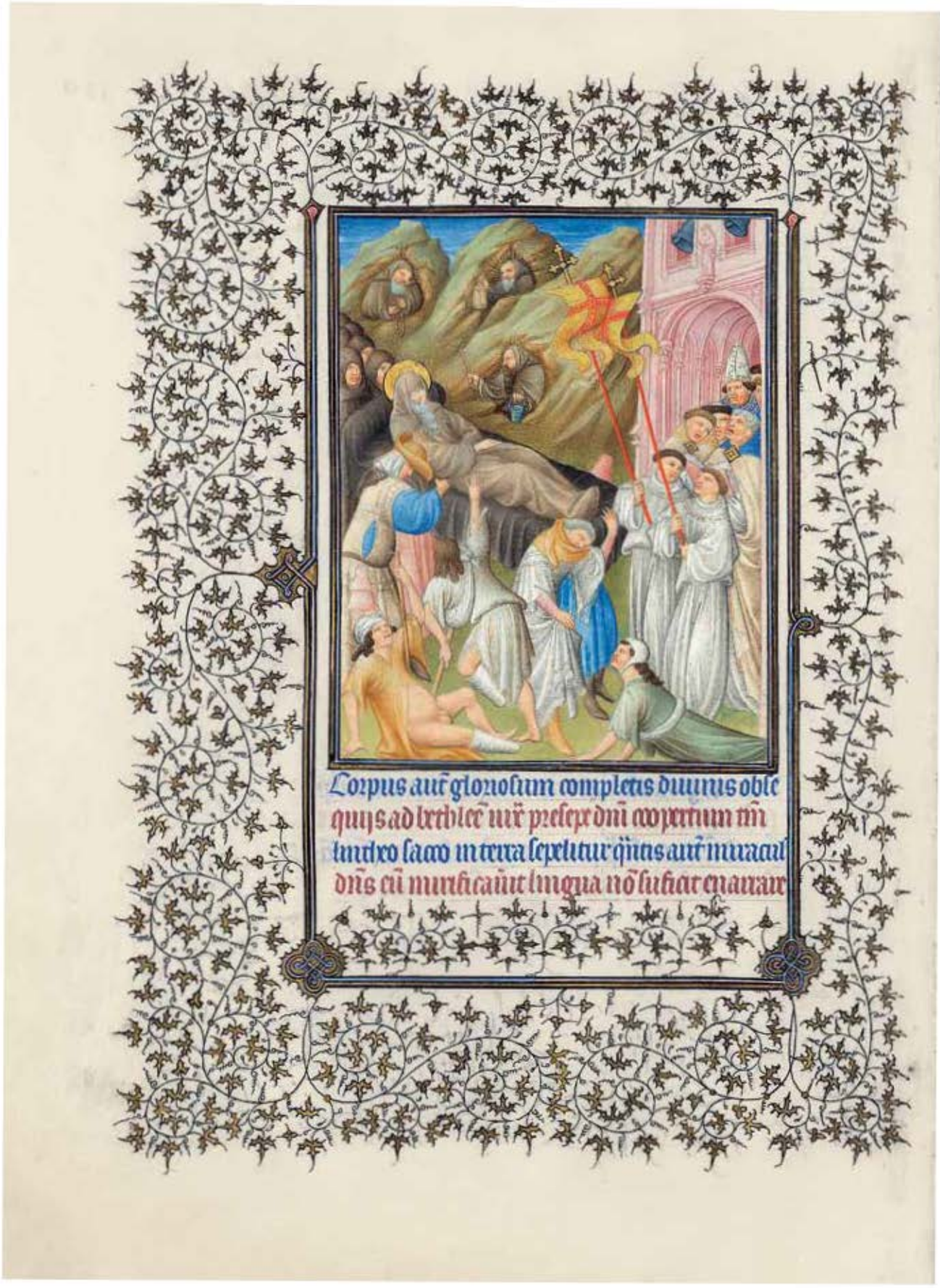
* *

Hic vir gloriosus ad extremum vite ductus, sumpto sacramento supinus ad terram rediit, manus in modum crucis super pectus tenens, et statim anima sanctissima ut sydus omnibus virtutibus radians, celos adiit.

It was here that the glorious man was led to the end of his life, and having obtained the sacrament, he reclined flat on his back upon the earth, his hands in the shape of a cross above his chest, so that immediately his most holy soul, radiating like a star with all virtues, ascended to the heavens.

187v (detail)

189 (detail)



189v

fol. 189v

The Sick Attending the Funeral of Saint Jerome

The Limbourgs have integrated four different scenes in this complex composition. Entering from the left middle ground four pallbearers carry the saint's bier followed by a procession of monks. Although Jerome was depicted in death as a relatively young man with a brown beard, here he is clearly an old man with a flowing white beard. The relationship of the pallbearers to the bier they carry is not clearly described: the top of a rose hat on the far side of the foot of the bier may belong to the man with a blue robe who can only be seen from the waist down. Another figure, likewise obscured, can be seen near the saint's torso wearing a rose-pink robe. It is unclear what function the man with a straw hat performs, as his right hand reaches under Jerome's arm. In the hill behind the procession, monks issue forth from their caves; one carries a situla and aspergillum, another beads, and a third a lantern. The landscape is rugged and barren, rendered in drab earth tones. At the right, acolytes bearing banners lead a procession of clerics, including a bishop, out of the church. Above the portal, bells toll. According to apocryphal sources, the bishop Cyril came from Jerusalem to celebrate the funeral Mass. In the foreground, the sick and infirm have gathered. The averted figure missing a foot and walking with the help of a crutch reaches out to touch the corpse, hoping for a miraculous restitution. Another figure, unable to walk, drags himself in from the right, his left hand resting on the border frame. Another poor soul seated in the lower left corner is also missing a foot and braces himself up with an extended arm and a stick clutched in his left hand; wearing only a tunic his belly and genitals are exposed.

* *

Corpus autem gloriosum completis divinis obsequiis ad Bethleem juxta presepe Domini coopertum tam lintheo sacco in terra sepelitur, quantis autem miraculis Dominus eum mirificaverit, lingua non suficit enarrare.

Once funerary rites had been completed, his glorious body, clothed in a simple linen tunic, was buried in the earth in Bethlehem next to the manger of the Lord. How many miracles the Lord worked to bless him, tongue cannot tell.

1. Meiss 1974, p. 116.
2. Meiss and Beatson 1974, commentary for fol. 183.
3. Ibid., commentary for fol. 187.
4. Ibid., commentary for fol. 189.

The Story of Saints Paul and Anthony

The Golden Legend states that the life of Paul, the first hermit, was written by Saint Jerome, a possible rationale for the inclusion of this picture cycle immediately following that of Jerome. When Saint Anthony repaired to the desert he thought he was the first hermit; only in a dream did he learn that an august anchorite, Paul, had preceded him. Jerome's close link to these two early hermit saints is made explicit in one of the pages added to the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* by the Limbourg brothers: Jerome appears in the decorated initial above the *bas-de-page* scene of Anthony searching for and then meeting with Paul [see fig. 41]. Jean de Berry's attraction to these two saints is not likely to have been predicated by their eremitic lifestyles. Saint Anthony, however, had particular appeal in the later Middle Ages, as he was believed to be able to cure the excruciating disease known as Saint Anthony's fire that with seeming randomness attacked all levels of society. The Antonines established hospitals for tending victims of the disease, and thousands of pilgrims visited the principal shrine at Saint-Antoine-le-Viennois not far from the Grande Chartreuse, the founding of which is the subject of one of the previous picture cycles. Treatment for Saint Anthony's fire, or *ignis sacer,* so called for the burning sensation at the extremities that led to gangrene and ultimately amputation, was palliative at best. The disease, now known as ergotism, was caused by the use of moldy grain, usually rye, in the making of bread and can be readily cured with penicillin.

Quire xxvi

fol. 191

Saint Paul the Hermit Sees a Christian Tempted

In an idyllic glen a woman of loose morals accosts a well-dressed youth identified by the text as a Christian. He has his hands pinned behind his back; she, in a low-cut dress and hair elaborately coiffed, sends her hand up his thigh. In desperate fear that he will succumb to carnal pleasures, the young man bites off the end of his tongue and spits the bloody results at his expressionless temptress, pain thus saving him from sin. In the upper right background the elderly Paul witnesses the scene and holds up his hand in horror. He was so shocked by this incident that he decided to flee Rome permanently and retreat to the wilderness. The identity of the younger man behind Paul is uncertain. Perhaps this is the young Anthony who only later in life followed Paul into the wilderness. Miniature trees suggest a verdant woodland locale, whereas a fountain in pale blue stone invokes a gardenlike setting and recalls the "murmuring water" described in *The Golden Legend.* Saturated tones, in contrast to the pale earth tones prevalent in the previous cycle, dominate the palette.

* *

Sanctus Paulus, primus heremita, fervente persecucione Decii, viso quod christianus quidam inter amena ligatus et ab impudica tractatus, linguam abscidit et in ejus faciem spuit ut temptacionem dolor fugaret, Roma fugit.

Saint Paul, the first hermit, under the vehement persecution of Decius, saw a certain Christian bound to a pleasurable place, and caressed by an impure woman. Whereupon he bit off his tongue and spat in her face. To escape the anguish of temptation he fled from Rome.

191

fol. 191v

Saint Anthony Seeks the Hermitage of Saint Paul

The barefooted Anthony wrapped in a brown cloak and carrying a staff, strides out of the lower left corner heading toward Saint Paul, who is reading before his hermitage in the distance, diagonally across the picture. The miniature topographical features, such as the woods, lake, and the Red Sea, here literally colored, suggest the distances and intervening expanses. A dragon and a snake imply the dangers of the wilderness. A sailing ship and a galley on the Red Sea are both outsized for the body of water they ply. The horizon is so high that the sky has been entirely eliminated. Strangely, the trees in the foreground are smaller than those deeper into the setting. The color transition from pale yellow to an ever-deepening green suggests the recession of the landscape.

* *

Hujus autem et aliorum penis, Paulus preteritus Roma fugiens, maria transivit et vastissimam heremum peciit, secus Mare Rubrum. Postquod tempus, Anthonius meliorem se heremum incolere edocetur in sompnio.

Leaving behind these and other torments, fleeing Rome Paul crossed the sea, and sought a very vast desert alongside the Red Sea. Following this, Anthony was told in a dream that a worthier hermit lived in the desert.

fol. 192

Saint Anthony Receives Directions from a Satyr

Anthony is placed in the same landscape as the previous illumination except that the horizon is now somewhat lower, revealing a background of golden boughs against deep blue. More detailed topographical features, such as a rugged mountain peak and hills in the distance, have been introduced. According to *The Golden Legend*, Anthony sought directions to Paul's hermitage first from a centaur and then from a satyr: "the upper part of the body that of a man, but he had the belly and feet of a goat."[1] The wolf, who ultimately led Anthony to Paul's hermitage, is not pictured here. In the lower left corner, Anthony with his staff and bell converses with this satyrlike creature (with the entire body of a goat rather than just the hindquarters, this creature is a variant form of the classical satyr). Other wild creatures populate the landscape, including two lions, a lizard, and a giraffe. Paul remains seated in front of his hermitage reading his book, but an empty sarcophagus has been added.

* *

Quem dum per silvas Anthonius quereret, ypotentaurum obviam habet, qui ejus dextera viam ad Paulum demonstrate. Inde satirum reperit, silvarum deum, errore Gentilium, et tandem lupum, qui eum ad Pauli cellam adduxit.

As Anthony sought him through the forests, he encountered a centaur, who showed him the right way to Paul. Then he found a satyr, by an error of the Gentiles considered the god of the forests, and finally a wolf, which led him to Paul's cell.

192v (detail)

192 (detail)

fol. 192v

Saints Paul and Anthony Are Fed by a Dove

Now united, Paul and Anthony sit on either side of a multitiered fountain made of pale lavender stone, set within a verdant landscape. Paul intently reads his book while Anthony looks up to watch a dove (not the raven mentioned in the text) descending from the celestial realm, indicated by a semicircle emitting rays of divine light, carrying bread to sustain the two saints. Anthony clutches his beads as he watches. The discourse on who should have the bread first, referred to in the caption, has yet to begin. A dragon, lion, and giraffe inhabit the distant wilderness. Beyond far peaks, edifices rise in both upper corners. Emerging from behind one of the mountains is the ominous, empty sepulcher. Saturated greens and yellow-greens dominate the landscape. As if to suggest atmospheric haze, the distant landscape takes on paler tones. The background is a tessellated pattern of blue and gold.

* *

Quo reperto, ambo in amplexus ruunt adestque corvus dupplicatam panis afferens partem hora prandii. Inter pares, pia lis oritur quis primo panem dividat, defert Paulus hospiti, Anthonius, seniori, utrique manum apponit.

After he had found Paul, they fell into an embrace, and a crow carrying a double portion of bread arrived at lunchtime. A pious quarrel arose between the two equals, over who should first divide the bread: Paul deferred to his guest, and Anthony to the elder, until each placed his hand on the bread.

fol. 193

Saint Paul's Soul Is Transported to Heaven

Anthony, standing in the lower right corner with his book, staff, and bell on the ground before him, looks up to witness the soul of Saint Paul being carried aloft by a pair of angels. The lion and the lizard in the middle ground, likewise, appear to have their attentions directed upward. In the upper right corner, Paul's hermitage can be seen, and, miraculously, the saint, even though dead, continues to pray in the entranceway. The landscape reaches into the far distance with a lake and mountain peaks in the middle ground and the Red Sea with a sailing ship farther beyond. A clump of trees and a large edifice in the upper left corner balance Paul's hermitage opposite. Anthony, who previously was depicted with a full head of hair, is here tonsured.

* *

Cum autem Anthonius rediret per deserta, vidit angelos animam Pauli deferentes; qui velociter rediens, invenit corpus Pauli flexis genibus in modum orantis erectum, miratus que dixit, O sancta anima, quid in vita gerebas, in morte montrasti.

But when Anthony returned through the desert, he saw angels bearing away the soul of Paul. Coming back quickly, he found the body of Paul on folded knees in the erect form of a person praying, and having been amazed by this sight, Anthony said, "O holy soul, what thou hast done in life, thou hast also shown in death."

192v (detail)

193 (detail)

fol. 193v

Lions Help Saint Anthony Bury Saint Paul

The empty sarcophagus that seemed to foretell Saint Paul's death in fols. 192 and 192v was not used, as the saint specifically requested to be buried in the earth. Anthony was intent on abiding by his wishes but was unable to do so as he had no tools. Miraculously, lions came forth from the wilderness and dug a hole, contrary to natural behavior, to serve as a grave. A snake emerges from its cave to witness this uncommon scene. Paul, who in life was always partially bald, in death has a full head of hair. He is dressed in a tunic of plaited palm fronds, which he made himself. According to *The Golden Legend,* Anthony removed the tunic and thereafter wore it on high feast days. The pallor of the corpse contrasts with the ruddy complexion of Saint Anthony who, with the help of the lions, lowers his companion into the grave. In the foreground before the mound of fresh earth, are the saint's staff and alms bowl. Paul's empty hermitage can be seen in the upper right corner.

* *

Cum autem non haberet unde sepeliret, advenere leones duo et foveam parant, sepultoque ad silvam redeunt. Anthonius autem tunicam Pauli ex palmis contextam assumpsit, qua in solennibus utebatur, anno Domini II co LXXX° septimo.

But since he did not have the means to bury the body, a pair of lions came and dug a grave, and when he had been buried they returned to the forest. But Anthony took Paul's tunic, woven with palms, which he wore in the saint's solemnities. This happened in the year of the Lord 287.

fol. 194

Saint Anthony Is Attacked by Devils

The sarcophagus that found no occupant now has a surfeit. Although he was said to have climbed into a cave, Saint Anthony here uses the sarcophagus instead and is joined by many of the creatures that were earlier seen to inhabit the wilderness. A lizard, serpent, and lion all crawl in to torment the saint, with a devil wielding a baton and biting into the saint's wrist adding to his miseries. Although he appears large and robust, Anthony is helpless to defend himself. His alms bowl sits in the foreground near a small body of reflective water. According to *The Golden Legend,* the demons returned and attacked Saint Anthony more viciously, but this time Christ appeared as a golden light, the demons fled, and the wounds of the hermit saint were miraculously healed. A rugged peak rises in the middle ground, and in the distance a stone fountain, a hill with grazing sheep, and the pink hermitage all draw the eye to the upper right corner over which is perched a red and blue "border" dragon, as though it too is playing a role in the drama.

* *

Hic sanctus gloriosus, dum in quodam tumulo latitaret, adest institudo demonum qui eum taliter laceravit quod ejus minister eum quasi mortuum super humeros adportavit, postea dormientibus cunctis subito revivixit.

While this glorious saint lay concealed in the tomb, there came a flock of demons who lacerated him in such a way that his deacon carried him over his shoulders almost as a dead man. Afterward he immediately came to life like all those who sleep.

193v (detail)

194 (detail)

194v

fol. 194v

The Death of Saint Anthony

Through a double arcade we view the only interior scene in this cycle. The shrouded corpse of Saint Anthony is laid out on a plain trestle table with his haloed head supported by a board. In a row behind, two in each arcade, are four monks in black Antonine habit reading from large books. The bright colors of the bindings and the yellow and rose floor tiles contrast with the dull colors of the monks' robes and the gray walls of the chamber. In the foreground on the floor sit a brazier, perhaps burning incense to purify the air, and a situla with an aspergillum, exceptions to the otherwise rigidly symmetrical arrangement of the composition. The vaulted ceiling is in a vivid cerulean blue, as though open to the heavens above. Oil lamps mounted on iron brackets burn high on the walls at either end of the room.

* *

Tandem beatus Anthonius post multa et innumerabilia demonum temptamenta, qui passus est dum vitam heremiticam duceret quam sancte complevit a XX° sue vite anno usque ad CV, quievit in pace anno Domini IIIco XL°.

Finally, following the many and innumerable temptations of the demons, blessed Anthony, who suffered while he led the hermetic life, which he completed from the 20th year of his life until he was 105 years old, rested in peace in the year of the Lord 340.

1. *Golden Legend* 1969, p. 89.

Masses

The remainder of the text in the *Belles Heures* is devoted to a series of short ancillary masses comprising prayers and other texts that were recited by a priest at the altar. Unlike the missal, which had the complete texts for the Mass throughout the Church year, the *Belles Heures* includes, in these two quires, only a selection of nine. The first eight are Masses or Proper of the Season (*proprium de tempore*) beginning with the major feast days of Christmas (December 25) and Easter (a moveable feast), followed by Ascension (forty days after the Resurrection), Pentecost (Whitsunday, fifty days after the Resurrection), Holy Trinity (Sunday after Pentecost), the Elevation of the Host (Friday before Easter), Corpus Christi (Thursday after Trinity Sunday), and the Exultation of the Cross (September 14). The texts, which change from one to another, typically include the Introit, psalm, reading from the Epistles, response, and versicle, reading from the Gospels, Offertory, Secret, Communion, and Post-Communion. Like a missal, these Masses are followed by the Proper of the Saints (*proprium sanctorum*) beginning with a Mass of the Virgin not associated with any of her many feast days, the most important of which are the Annunciation (March 25) and the Assumption (August 15). The text is similar to those of the Masses of the Season.

Quire xxvii

Mass for Christmas (fols. 195–198)

fol. 195

The Nativity

Within an open hut with low wattle walls, the Virgin dressed in only a white robe kneels in prayer over the infant Christ, who lies not in a manger but on the bare ground, radiating divine light. Joseph, with a full white beard and wearing a pale blue mantle, stands at the side, one hand raised in awe. Behind the Virgin is a bed with pink linens, and the heads of the ass and the ox can just be seen, peeking over the wattle fence. In the middle distance, emerging from a cleft in the land are two approaching shepherds. In the far distance at the left a shepherd and his flock are seen on the side of a precipitous mountain peak. At the far right, a kneeling shepherd is told of the birth of Christ by an angel overhead holding a large banderole. At the top of the arched picture frame, the half figure of God raises his hands in blessing and just below hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit; emanating from both are rays of divine light that descend on the Christ Child. The elaborate border is a variation of the "threaded pot" type. The descender of the letter *P* in *Puer* continues down through the six bottom lines into the corner of the border pattern.

* *

De Nativitate Domini. Introitus Puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis, cujus imperium super humerum ejus et vocabitur nomen magis consilii angelus. Psalmus Cantate Domino canticum novum quia // mirabilia fecit. Puer natus.

On the Nativity of the Lord. Introit. A child is born to us today and a son hath been given to us, and the government shall be upon his shoulders, and whose name will be called great as the angel hath counseled. Psalm [95]. Sing a new song to the Lord, for he hath done wonderous things. A child is born.

Mass for Easter Sunday (fols. 198–199v)

fol. 198

Resurrection

Christ in a pale lavender mantle closed with a gold brooch and holding a cruciform staff with a red pennon steps out of a light gray blind-arcaded stone sarcophagus. Behind, an angel appears to assist. Three soldiers deep in slumber surround the tomb, with two leaning against it. The soldier in the lower left corner holds a shield with a grotesque mask as his sword lies on the ground before him. The scene is a variation of *Soldiers at the Tomb* from the Hours of the Passion (fol. 152v). In the distance a precipitous peak juts up and opposite, just over the rise of the hill, the walls of Jerusalem are visible. A golden disk representing the divinity emerges from behind the upper picture frame.

* *

In die Pasche. Introit. // Resurrexi et adhuc tecum suum. Alleluya. Posuisti super me manum tuum. Alleluya. Mirabilis facta est sciencia tua. Alleluya. Psalmus Domine, probasti me et cognovisti me, tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam.

On Easter Day. Introit. I arose and I am here with thee, Alleluia. Thou hast placed thy hand over me. Alleluia. Thy wisdom hath done wondrous things. Alleluia. Psalm [138] O Lord, thou hast examined me and thou hast recognized me, thou hast known my sitting and my rising.

Mass for the Ascension (fols. 199v–201v)

fol. 199v

Ascension

The apostles and the Virgin in two groups flank the central mountain peak from which Christ ascends into heaven. Of the apostles, only Peter and Paul in the front are recognizable. The rest of their heads are so overlapped that their features are obscured. For unclear reasons fourteen heads are represented. Only the lower legs and feet of Christ are visible, as the rest of his body has disappeared into the clouded firmament. All that remains of his physical presence on earth are his footprints.

* *

In die Ascensionis. Introitus // Viri Galilei quid admiramini aspicientes in celum. Alleluya. Quemadmodum vidistis eum ascendentem in celum ita veniret.

On Ascension Day. Introit. Men of Galiliee, what are you marveling at looking skyward? As you have seen him rising to heaven, so shall you see him return.

198 (detail)

199v (detail)

Whitsunday Mass (fols. 202–204)

fol. 202

Celebration of Pentecost Mass

A tonsured priest in a pale yellow mantle and a white alb leans over the altar as he breaks the Eucharist above a chalice. A plain white altar cloth and a small folded cloth with which the celebrant will wipe the chalice are the only objects on the altar. In the absence of liturgical vessels and devotional objects or imagery, the altar seems oddly barren. A congregation of one, hands clasped in prayer, stands expectantly behind the priest. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovers above as rays of divine light—here red as to be visible against the gold rectilinear background pattern— emanate from a gold celestial disk. For such an important feast day the Mass appears to be a surprisingly modest affair. The border, on the other hand, is unusually elaborate, consisting of an interlace pattern with red and blue leaves on a gold ground.

* *

In festo penthecoste. Introitus ad missam. [fol. 202] *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum. Alleluya. Et hoc quod continet omnia scienciam, habet vocis.*

On the Feast of the Pentecost. Introit to the Mass. [fol. 202] For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, Alleluia. And because it contains the knowledge of all things, it knows man's utterance.

Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum alleluia. et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis alleluia alleluia alleluia. psalmus dd. Cantate domino canticum novum cantate domino omnis terra

rem omnia prospiciens Spiritus domini. v. Gloria patri. Spiritus domini. Kyrieleison. Gloria mentibus eius qui ode lucerna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustratione docuisti: da nobis eodem spiritu recta sapere: et de eius semper sancta consolatione gaudere. per eundem. Lectio Actuum apostolorum. In diebus illis: Dum complerentur dies pentecostes: erant omnes di

Mass for Trinity Sunday (fols. 204–205)

fol. 204

Throne of Grace

God the Father in a lavender mantle over a white alb sits upon a throne formed by two banks of mottled blue clouds. In His outstretched arms He holds a diminutive Crucifixion with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove flying down to Christ's head. Behind God's haloed head with gray hair and beard is a host of brilliant orange-red seraphim. This celestial group is set against a background of golden boughs on azure, while a narrow band of green represents the earthly realm below. The elaborate border consists of two vines spiraling around alternating gold decorative forms.

* *

Missa de Sancta Trinitate // Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas atque indivisa unitas confitebimur ei quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

Mass of the Holy Trinity. Blessed be the Holy Trinity and its indivisible unity. We profess our faith in it because it has granted us its mercy.

scō loquentes magnalia dei alleluya alleluya. ℣ Post communionē

Sancta spiritus dōne corda nra mundet mfluio et sui roris mtima aspersione fecundet. ℟ Per dominum nrm ihesum xpm filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. ℣ Benedicamus domino. ℟ Deo gracias. ℣ Festa de sancta trinitate.

Benedicta sit sancta trinitas atq; mdivisa unitas confitebimur ei quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam. ℣ Benedicamus patrem et filium cum scō spū laudemus et superexal

Mass for Corpus Christi (fols. 205v–207v)

fol. 205v

Elevation of the Host

A tonsured priest stands before an altar placed beneath a ciborium of gray-blue stone, and with outstretched arms he holds up the Eucharist in both hands. At left, an acolyte on one knee holds a massive taper in one hand while lifting up the priest's chasuble with the other. Behind the acolyte is the kneeling congregation. In the lower right corner a tonsured man seen from behind throws up his hands in wonder. The painters never completed the liturgical vessel on the altar and a Crucifixion group at the back of the altar was underdrawn but not painted. The setting consists of only a greensward and a finely tessellated background.

* *

Missa in festo sacramenti. // Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti alleluya et de petra melle saturavit eos alleluya, alleluya, alleluya.

Mass on the feast day of the Holy Sacrament. He fed them with the heart of the wheat, Alleluia, and he filled them with honey out of a rock, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Mass for the Exultation of the Cross (fols. 207v–209)

fol. 207v

Exultation of the Cross

On an altar of greenish gray stone decorated with a blind arcade stands a plain gold cross from which hangs a Crown of Thorns and two scourges. A pair of candleholders flanks the cross with tall tapers burning. Before the altar, seen in three-quarter profile from the rear are a kneeling man and woman, both of a certain age and amplitude but of uncertain identity. With their unseen hands clasped in prayer, the two look up and contemplate the cross. Their garments of white and blue and pink and yellow, respectively, set the figures off from the subdued tones of the altar. The background consists of spirals of golden boughs on an azure field.

* *

Missa de Sancta Cruce // Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce Domini nostri Jhesu Christi in quo est salus, vita et resurrectio nostra per quem salvati et liberati sumus.

Mass of the Holy Cross. We however should glory in the cross of our Lord, Jesus Christ, in whom is our salvation, life, and resurrection, through whom we have been saved and made free.

205v (detail)

207v (detail)

Mass of the Virgin (fols. 209–210v)

fol. 209

Madonna and Child with Two Angels

The half-length Madonna in a green robe and deep blue mantle holds the naked Christ Child, looking adoringly at him. Flanking the Madonna are two angels, one in pale yellow and the other in pink; one looks over the Madonna's shoulder at the Child while the other looks up at the Madonna. The features of all four figures are finely delineated, and the flesh tones are delicately modeled. It is a tender and touching group set against a background of golden boughs on an azure field. Below, a golden celestial disk has risen half way above the lower border. The elaborate border is a variation of the "threaded pot" type.

* *

Missa de Nostra Domina. // Salve Sancta parens enixa puerpera regem qui celum terramque regit in secula seculorum. Psalmus. Post partum virgo inviolata permansisti, Dei genitrix intercede pro nobis. Salve sancta parens.

Mass of Our Lady. Hail, Holy Mother, who hath given birth to the king who rules the heavens and the earth for all time. Psalm. After the birth, thou hast remained an untouched virgin, O Mother of God, intercede on our behalf. Hail, Holy Mother.

The Story of Saint John the Baptist, Masses, and Prayers for Travelers

The Proper of the Saints continues beginning with the Mass for Saint John the Baptist. Perhaps because John the Baptist was one of the duke's patron saints, the Mass is accorded not one but four scenes from the saint's legend. As the text for the Mass begins under the fourth of the illuminations, *Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist,* and the text under the preceding three illuminations are in the blue and magenta ink found in the picture cycles, these additional images are an enhancement of the original plan. The Mass celebrates not the Decollation (August 29), but the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (June 24). The texts of the first two miniatures, however, are taken from a hymn from Matins of the Nativity of the Baptist. This Mass is followed by the Masses for Saints Peter and Paul (June 29), All Saints (November 1), and All Souls (November 2). All of the Masses up to this point are ordinary, or regular, Masses in that they relate to the feasts and feria associated with particular days of the Calendar year. Extraordinary Masses, on the other hand, include Masses that are held on special occasions such as the dedication of a church, Masses for the dead, and votive Masses for the sick, endangered, or needy and are not associated with a specific date. Such Masses are not included in the *Belles Heures,* but the final and truncated quire comprises an analogous text in the form of a supplication and two prayers beseeching protection for travelers. The illumination that accompanies the text depicting the duke and his companions approaching a fortified castle is a single sheet tipped in. This apparent afterthought may well have been inspired by the murder in 1407 of one of his nephews, Louis, duke of Orléans, by another, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy. The concern for his safety while traveling between his various domains and residences is reflected in the fact that he had included similar prayers at the end of two other Books of Hours.

Quire xxix

fol. 211

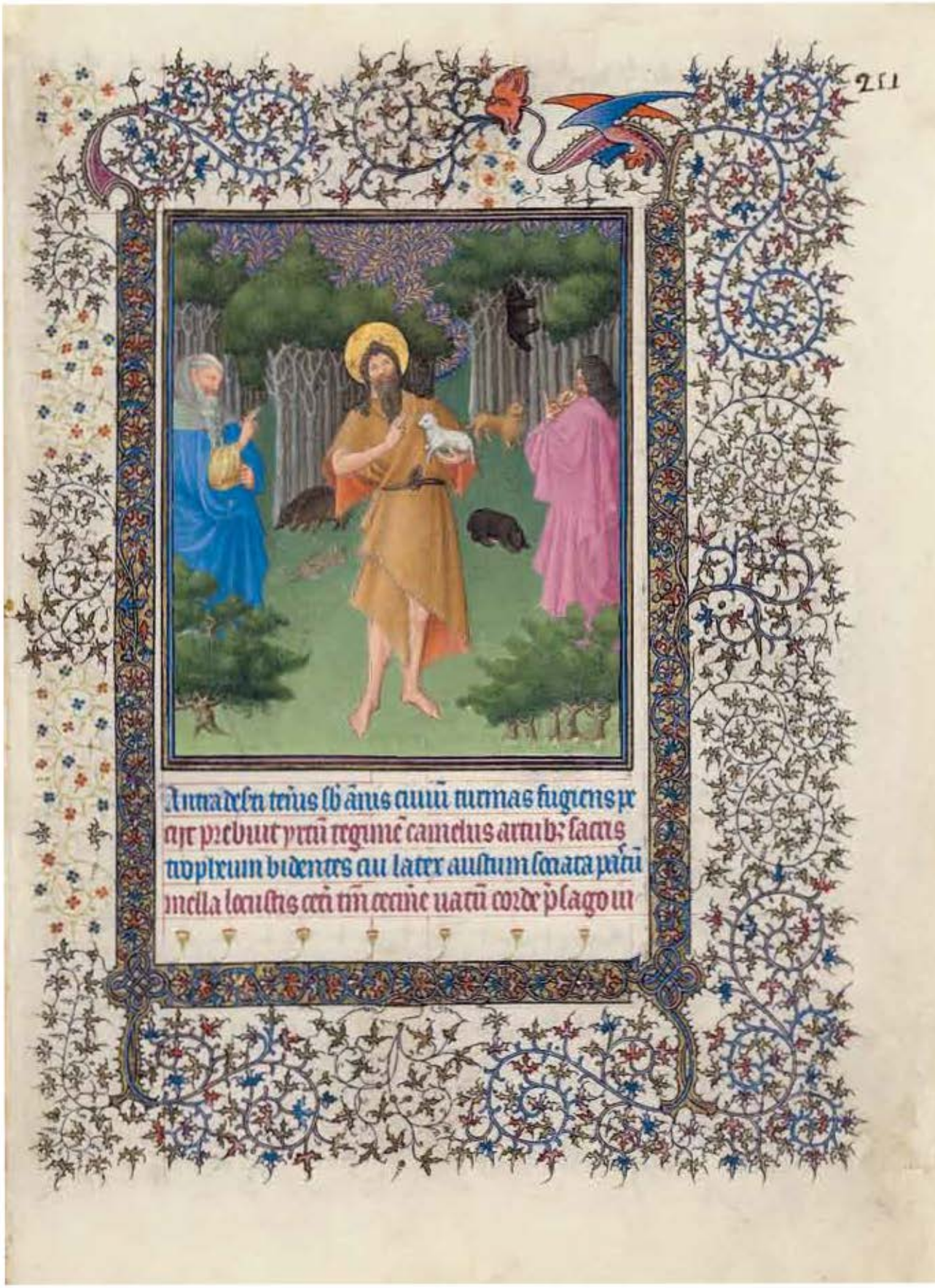
John the Baptist in the Wilderness

John the Baptist, wearing a camel-hair tunic lined with red fabric, stands in a clearing at the edge of a wood. The Lamb of God is cradled in his left arm and his right hand is raised in benediction. It was John the Baptist who recognized Christ as "the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world." The two men flanking the Baptist cannot be identified with any certainty. The elder one on the left, who also raises his right hand in benediction, is tonsured and therefore a monk, but his blue and white habit is not that of any conventional order. The wild pigs in the background may identify him as Saint Anthony Abbot, who would be appropriate, as John was the model of all ensuing anchorite orders. If so, it would not be the first time that the Limbourg brothers failed to provide a monk with correct color of habit. It could also be Saint Benedict who was inspired by John the Baptist, founded monasticism in the West, and dedicated his first church to the Baptist. Although he would normally be in black habit, he occasionally dressed in blue.[1] His gesture, however, suggests that he, too, has recognized the significance of the Lamb of God. The man on the right with long wavy hair and a rose robe holds up the index finger of his left hand and appears to be counting the other fingers. The text below refers to a *vatus,* or "seer," who also predicted the coming of a savior. It has been suggested that this is Virgil, for a passage in his *Fourth Eclogue* was understood by Augustine to foretell the Incarnation.[2] As the Baptist was considered the last of the prophets and the first of the martyrs, the figures may be interpreted as personifications of the Old and New Law. The boars, bears, and lion refer to the wilderness in which the Baptist secluded himself. Bears, likewise, were a favorite emblem of the duke; perhaps the one up the tree is searching for the honey that served as the Baptist's food in the desert. The ornate border consists of a vine meander on a gold ground.

* *

Antra deserti teneris sub annis civium turmas fugiens, peciit, prebuit yrtum tegimen camelus, artubus sacris tropheum bidentes, cui later austum, sociata pastum mella locustis. Ceteri tantum cecinere vatum corde presago ju- . . .

Even as a youth, fleeing from the crowds, he sought the caves of the desert. The camel provided him with a hair coat, and the lambs a belt for his sacred limbs, his drink was water, and his meals of honey and of locusts. The rest of the prophets sang with knowing hearts about the . . .



211

fol. 211v

Saint John Baptizes Christ

Christ, wearing only a diaphanous breechcloth, stands in a pond of water, rather than the river Jordan, as John the Baptist, in his camel-hair tunic, holds a situla of water in one hand and pours a bowl of water over the head of Christ with the other. An angel in white balances the group at the right and holds the pale lavender robe of Christ. The tall, attenuated figures attain a certain monumentality, whereas Christ's hands crossed over his chest and his bowed head suggest deep humility. The elegant simplicity of the composition—the arcing forms of John and the angel describe a circle around Christ—lends it great dignity. The muted tonalities and silvery transparent water bring quiet serenity to this most profoundly significant event. God the Father against a golden disk and surrounded by seraphim observes the baptism from the semicircular extension to the picture frame as rays of divine light descend on Christ. Although the Holy Spirit is conspicuously absent, the brilliant white of the angel's robe and wings bring the symbolic dove to mind. The greensward rises to a fairly high horizon and an arced mountain peak in the upper left corner acts as a visual response to the wings of the angel. The background is rendered in a minute tessellated pattern.

* *

. . . bar ad futurum, tu quidem mundo scelus auferentem indice prodis. Non fuit vasti spacium per orbis sanctior quisquam genitus Johanne, qui nephas secli meruit lavantem tingere limphis.

. . . which was to come, but thou hast come forth as a sign of the one coming to take away the affliction of the world. In the vast expanse of the earth there is no man born more holy than John, who was found worthy of washing the offenses of the world by immersion in water.

fol. 212

Saint John the Baptist Is Beheaded

John the Baptist chided Herod for marrying Herodias, whose husband Philip was still alive. Thus incurring the wrath of Herodias, John was cast into prison. Salome had so won the admiration of Herod for her dancing abilities that he offered her anything she asked for; prodded by Herodias she asked for the head of John the Baptist. The decapitated body of John the Baptist hangs out of the prison window of Herod's fortified castle. The executioner, having just severed the head, holds the bloody sword in both hands as blood spurts from the victim's neck. The haloed head of the Baptist lies on the ground. A small group of witnesses stands behind the executioner, the foremost of whom carries a large lighted candle, a reference to midsummer's night (the Baptist's birthday) festivities and the fact that they are witnessing the "true light." At the left Salome, in a pink robe and a white veil attached to a diadem, holds up her skirt in one hand and clutches the salver on which the Baptist's head will be placed in the other.

* *

Herodes luxurie cecitate convictus Johannes baptista incarcerat, saltanti puelle temere jurat scelus juramento excusat, inter lacivia convivancium adultera, caput Johannis, pium spectaculum, in manu filie non horruit.

Herod, overcome by the blindness of lust, jailed John the Baptist. He swore rashly to the dancing girl, justified his crime by an oath, and among the adulterous lasciviousness of his guests, did not recoil at putting the head of John the Baptist into the hands of his daughter, a pitiful sight.

Mass for the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (fols. 212v–214v)

fol. 212v

Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist

Salome on bended knee presents the haloed head of the Baptist on a large salver to Herod Antipas seated under a cloth of honor on the far side of a table laid with a brilliant white cloth. Leaning over and holding up his hand in a gesture of horror, Herod gazes at the gruesome spectacle. Next to him sits Herodias, who, while slightly recoiling in revulsion, deftly plunges a knife into the temple of the Baptist. This unprecedented scene apparently draws on a contemporary Passion play that, in turn, accorded with the legend surrounding the relic of the Baptist's head that had been brought to the cathedral of Amiens in the early thirteenth century.[3] The relic, a partial skull, displays a small hole near the left eye socket. The duke of Berry, who spent a week at Amiens in 1407, certainly

211v (detail)

212 (detail)

212v (detail)

was familiar with this relic. A group of four stylishly dressed men look on. Salome wears a flowing pink gown, the lower folds of which disappear under the picture frame. A long white veil falls over her shoulder and loops up to where it is tucked under the girdle around her hips. As though to counterbalance the weight of her gory offering, she bends precipitously backward. The energetic juxtaposition of figures reinforces the dramatic narrative. The receding white and light green tiled flooring, the ceiling beams, and the blind arcading of the rear wall all contribute to a sense of spatial depth.

* *

Missa de Sancto Johanne baptista. De Introitus ventre matris mee vo//cavit me Dominus nomine meo et posuit os meum ut gladium acutum, sub tegumento manus . . .

Mass of Saint John the Baptist. Introit. The Lord called me by my name from the womb of my mother, and placed my mouth as a sharp sword, under the protection of his hand . . .

Mass for Saints Peter and Paul (fols. 215–217v)

fol. 215

Death of Simon Magus

The emperor Nero and his courtiers at the left have gathered at the Capitoline Hill to watch Simon Magus prove he can climb to heaven. The group stands before a massive brick and masonry structure with a tall narrow portal and a flight of stairs leading deep into the building and apparently providing access to the tower, the top of which projects into the upper border. Peter, in a pale yellow mantle with his key at his side, and Paul, in rose, are seen from the back in the lower right corner kneeling in prayer. At the moment Simon Magus reaches the top of the tower, Peter gives the command and the devils who were carrying the magician are made visible and flee, sending Simon Magus, diminutive so as to suggest great height, plunging to his death. The emperor holds his hands up in horror. The blue and pale yellow tiling leading to the portal adds to the sense of recessive space. The curious border of "threaded pots" is found in several variations in the manuscript. In the bottom are the arms of the duke (*France ancien*) supported by a swan, one of his personal devices.

* *

In festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Introitus [fol. 215] *Nunc scio vere quia misit Dominus angelum suum //et eripuit me de manu Herodis et de omni expectactone plebis Judeorum. Psalmus*

On the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Introit [fol. 215]. Now I know for certain that the Lord hath sent his angel and rescued me from the hand of Herod and from all that the Jews were hoping for. Psalm.

fol. 215v

Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul

On a large pale lavender cathedra, the seated Nero, wearing a voluminous cloak of pale sage lined with white fur, holds a sword while leaning toward a counselor holding up a red cloth. This must be the hood that Plautilla gave Paul on his way to his execution; when it was returned to her soaked with his blood, her blindness was cured. In the foreground, Paul has already been beheaded; the prone body raised on knees spurts blood from the neck while the head stares up lifelessly nearby. As legend has it, Paul's head bounced twice after it was severed and at both places a spring miraculously issued forth. This description would explain the two small pools near the head. At the left, Peter, who is likewise dressed as in the previous illumination, kneels blindfolded as his executioner, seen from the rear, raises his bloodied sword to dispatch his victim. As Peter was crucified upside down, the counselor may also be

215
unc scio
uere quia
misit do
minus angelum suu
et eripuit me de manu
herodis et de omni ex
pectacione plebis iude
orum. psalmus.

215

215v (detail)

reminding Nero that only Roman citizens could be put to the sword, thus precipitating a sudden stay of execution until a suitable method was prescribed. Soldiers in various dress and holding spears and halberds flank the scene.

* *

Et Petrus ad se reversus dixit. Nunc scio. Gloria Patri et Filio. Nunc scio vere. // Kyrieleison. Christeleison. Deus qui Oracio hodiernam diem apostolorum [fol. 216] *tuorum Petri et Pauli martirio consecrasti, da ecclesie tue in omnibus sequi preceptum per quos religionis sumpsit exordium.*

And Peter came to himself, and said, "Now I know." Glory to the Father and to the Son. Now I know truly. Lord have mercy. Christ have mercy. Prayer. O God, thou hast consecrated this day to the [fol. 216] martyrdom of thine apostles Peter and Paul, grant that thy Church may in all things follow the commandment through which it received its religious foundation.

Mass for All Saints (fols. 218–220v)

fol. 218

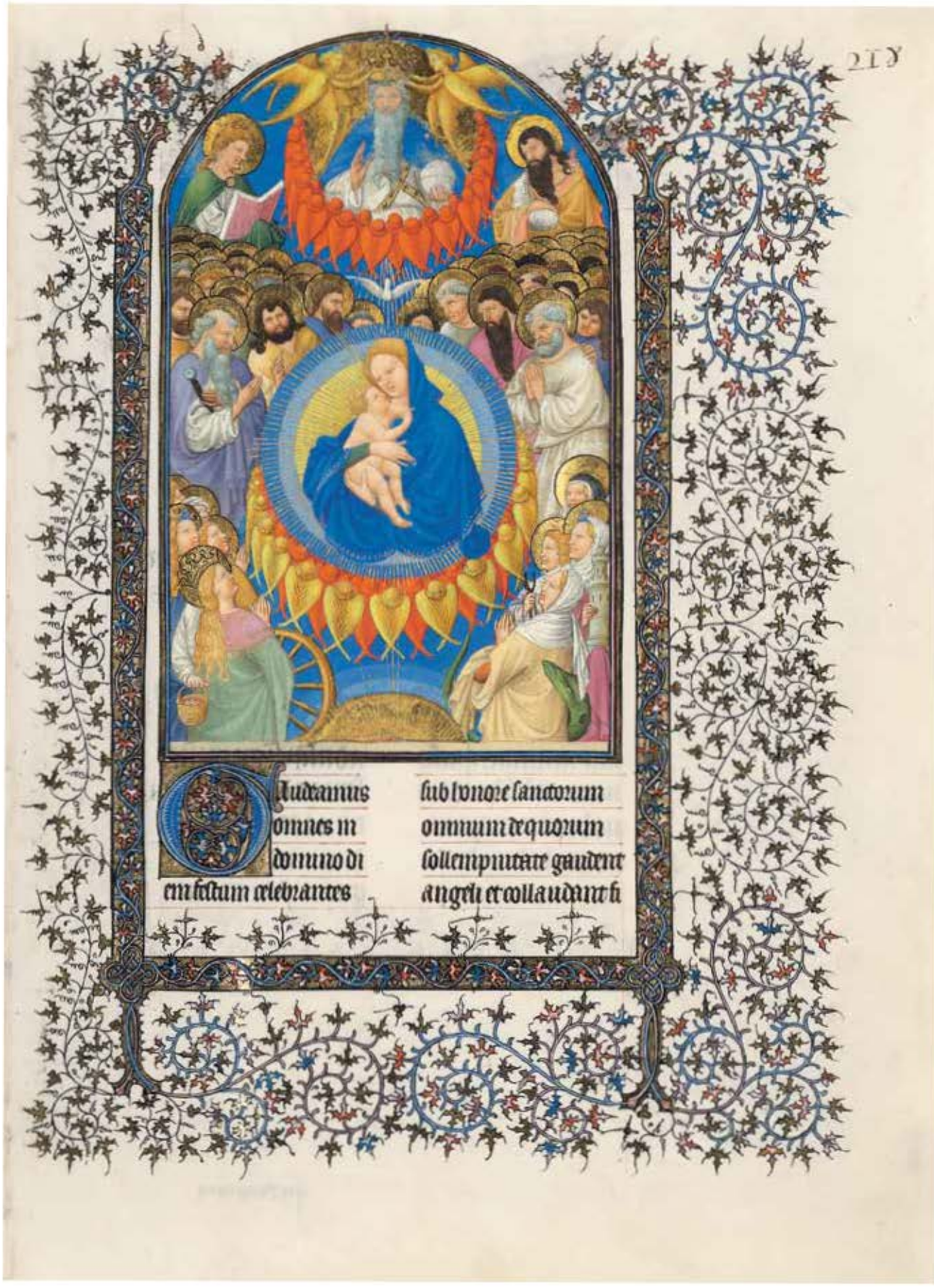
Heavenly Hosts

In the upper reaches of the empyrean God the Father, being crowned by seraphim, raises one hand in benediction while holding an orb in the other. He is placed against a disk of gold and encircled by seraphim, flanked by John the Evangelist and John the Baptist. Below, the half-length Virgin holding the Christ Child is set against a yellow disk encircled by concentric rings of lavender and blue, the whole radiating rays of divine light and supported by ranks of seraphim. Between God and the Virgin is the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. Densely packed groupings of apostles and male saints—Peter and Paul being the foremost—surround the upper zone of the Virgin's glory. Lower down, flanking an emergent golden disk that completes a vertical axis of circles, are clusters of female saints, Dorothea, Catherine, Margaret, and Barbara being the most prominent. Catherine's wheel and the encircling dragon of Margaret echo the geometric arrangement of the celestial realm. Rich blues, yellows, orange-red, and a sea of gold haloes enhance the heavenly brilliance. The ornate border comprises a vine meander on a gold ground.

* *

In festo omnium sanctorum. Introitus [fol. 218] *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum celebrantes // sub honore sanctorum omnium de quorum sollempnitate gaudent angeli et collaudant Fi-* [fol. 218v] *lium Dei.*

On the Feast of All Saints. Introit. [fol. 218] Let us all rejoice in the Lord, celebrating the feast day in honor of all saints from whose solemnity the angels rejoice and praise to [fol. 218v] Son of God.


Laudamus
omnes in
domino di
em festum celebrantes
sub honore sanctorum
omnium de quorum
solemnitate gaudent
angeli et collaudant fi

218

Mass for All Souls (fols. 221–222v)

fol. 221

Mass for All Souls

A large arched portal of pale green masonry affords a view of a chapel interior with wood choir stalls set against the wall. Monks are seated with open books reading the Requiem for All Souls. Before the monks rests the traditional empty coffin draped with a black pall with a purple cross under a catafalque with numerous burning candles; a large gold candleholder sits on the tiled floor next to the coffin. The features of the monks are mostly hidden by their hoods. Here the Limbourgs have indicated the transparency of the quarry-glazed windows with shimmering silver. The chapel, set on the diagonal, opens directly into the greensward, perhaps the grounds of a cemetery. A slice of brilliant blue sky contrasts with the otherwise somber palette.

* *

Hic incipit officium mortuorum. Introitus Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine et lux perpetua luceat eis. Psalmus Te decet hymnus Deus //in Syon et tibi reddetur notum in Jherusalem. Exaudi oracionem meam, ad te omnis caro veniet.

Here begins the Office of the Dead. Introit. [fol. 221] Eternal rest grant onto them, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon them. Psalm. To thee, O God, we owe hymns on Sion, to thee must we render vows in Jerusalem. Hear my prayer, to thee all flesh must come.

Requiem aeternã
dona eis dñe et
lux perpetua luceat eis. ℣.
Te decet hymnus deus
in sion et tibi reddetur
votum in ierusalem.
Exaudi orationem meã
ad te omnis caro veniet.

d accipien
dum uiam
suā in entu
domus. uille uel loci.
N uiam pacis sa
lutis et prosperi
tatis dirigat do
minus ihc xpc

223v

Prayers for Travelers (fols. 223v–225)

fol. 223v

The Duke on a Journey

The duke, dressed in red and, indicative of his rank, mounted on a white horse, is in the lead of numerous riders so tightly overlapped that there appears to be almost no space between them. Emerging from behind the right frame, part of the group has yet to appear, and even the duke is only partially visible. The tossing heads of the horses provide a sense of motion. The castle in the near foreground is shown in its full height, according to the convention of the time, and therefore is of diminutive scale. A drawbridge between two turreted towers has been lowered over a moat. The banners flying from the tower spires bear the blue and gold bands of Burgundy. The unusual addition of prayers for travelers at the end of the manuscript may have been inspired by an event that had a profound effect on the duke. In 1407 one of the duke's nephews, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, murdered another, Louis, duke of Orléans, which led to the bitter split between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, a conflict that put the duke as a prominent Armagnac in considerable danger. The presence at a Burgundian property could reference the duke's numerous attempts to mediate and stave off civil war between the factions. High on a distant hill in the background sits another fortified château.

* *

Ad accipiendam viam suam in exitu domus, ville vel loci, // in viam pacis, salutis et prosperitatis dirigat Dominus Jhesus Christus [fol. 224] *gressus nostros et angelus suus bonus concomitetur nobiscum ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis ut cum gaudio et salute eamus et revertamur ad propria.*

In order to follow his path upon departing from home, town, or country, Jesus Christ, our Lord, directs our steps toward the road of peace, health, and prosperity, [fol. 224] and his good angel accompanies us to direct our feet toward the way of peace, so that we may go with joy and salvation and return to our own home.

fol. 224v

Oremus. Oracio Deus qui filios Israel per maris medium sicco vestigio transire fecisti qui que tribus magis iter ad [fol. 225] *te stella duce pandisti, tribue nobis, quesumus, iter prosperum et tempus transquillum ut ad locum quo pergimus et demum ad eterne felicitatis portum pervenire valeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Ut benedictum sit nomen Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, nomen beatissime Virginis Marie et omnium sanctorum et sanctarum in ipso et per ipsum sine fine et ultra ad divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum. In nomine Patris et Filii et // Spiritus Sancti. Amen.*

Let us pray. Prayer. O God, who granted to the sons of Israel to pass through the middle of the sea with dry steps, and who revealed thee to the three wise men through [fol. 225] the guidance of a star, grant us, we beg thee, a prosperous path and calm weather, so that we might be worthy of arriving at the place we are going and, finally, at the gate of eternal happiness. Through Christ our Lord. Amen. May the names of our Lord, Jesus Christ, the most blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints be blessed in him and through him, without end and, in addition, may his divine assistance remain always with us. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

1. Meiss and Beatson 1974, commentary for fol. 211.
2. Ibid.
3. Mâle 1984, p. 483, n. 146.

The Compositional Intelligence of the Narrative Cycles

The seven pictorial cycles that are distinctive to the *Belles Heures* comprise full-page illuminations, each with four lines of text, and are devoted to saints for whom the duke felt a particular affinity:[1] Saint Catherine, a renowned scholar with the added appeal of being royal and a favorite of the Valois princes; Saint Bruno, who founded the Carthusian order patronized by the duke and his Burgundian brother; Saint Jerome, whose scholarly qualities the duke admired; and Saints Paul and Anthony, whose austere and hermetic lives may have held a chimerical appeal to the duke, given his own life, which was steeped in courtly panoply and political intrigue. Emperor Heraclius and the account of his returning the True Cross—the greatest of all relics—to Jerusalem perhaps appealed to the duke's quest for objects invested with a holy presence. The Institution of the Great Litany tells of the prayers offered up by Pope Gregory I the Great in 590 during the outbreak of plague. The choice of this cycle may have reflected lingering anxiety over the catastrophic Black Death of 1348 in France, but it may also have been something of an eerie presentiment on the part of the duke.[2] And John the Baptist, as one of the duke's patron saints, was certainly an appropriate inclusion.

Fol. 185 (detail)

As previously discussed, these picture-book cycles were not planned from the outset as fully developed entities, and the concept seemed to have evolved. Both the Heraclius and Saint John the Baptist cycles—probably the first to be introduced—are not insertions like the other five, rather they represent alterations of the original plan within existing quires. One illumination in each cycle—the *Exultation of the Cross* in the former and *Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist* in the latter—has a two-column text, the format of the original campaign, while the remaining illuminations have alternating single lines of blue and magenta ink, standard for the picture-book insertions. And one illumination in each cycle—the *Exultation of the Cross* (fig. 75) and *John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (fol. 211, p. 253)—employs the earlier ornate and singular type-II frames (see "Page Organization and Decoration" in this volume). All of the illuminations in both cycles are painted over rulings, which anticipated two full columns of text, not full-page miniatures. The rubric in the usual minium at the end of the *memoriae* for the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, with which the Suffrages open, announces the opening antiphon for the *memoria* of the Holy Cross, which, in fact, is the accompanying text for the *Exultation of the Cross* (fol. 157 of *bifolium* 157/160). Thus the *bifolium* 156/161 with the two preceding illuminations (fols. 156–156v) (see fig. 76) was an intervention between 155/162 and 157/160 (see "Collation" in this volume). Further evidence is apparent on fol. 160v, as the scribe had to go into the margins in order to fit in the rubric for the Memorial for Saint Bartholomew that follows on fol. 161. The border artist did his best to mitigate the effect by making a semicircular deviation in the frame around the errant text (fig. 77). The analogous situation occurs with the John the Baptist cycle, as the Mass actually begins with the text of the final illumination in the series, while the preceding three are an accounting of the saint's life. These two cycles, therefore, are tentative alterations before the self-contained insertions were adopted. The Great Litany, on the other hand, is something of a transitional cycle, as it comprises a single *bifolium* inserted between consecutive folios in an existing quire. The remaining four are complete quires, usually quaternions that are intrusions in the original ordering of the manuscript. These four full-quire cycles were almost certainly the last to be completed and are the primary focus of this chapter.

The picture-book insertions provided the vehicle for the Limbourg brothers' developing art. The full-page format (a two-column miniature above four lines of text) provided a broader canvas to create more convincing spatial relationships, to experiment with palette and the effects of light, and to refine the modeling and articulation of the figures. The artists advanced compositional formulas that gave dramatic charge to the imagery, and as there were no longer intervening text pages, they sought narrative coherence from one illumination to the next. As the manuscript progressed, the artists increasingly conceived these cycles as visual narrative sequences, which they imbued with emotional and psychological

Fig. 75. *Exultation of the Cross*, fol. 157

Fig. 76. *Heraclius Enters Jerusalem*, fol. 156v

content. Additionally, they created compositional and other visual linkages so that the illuminations would be perceived not as a series of discrete images, but as a progression of narrative visualizations that created an overall dramatic effect greater than the aggregation of its component compositions. In effect, the Limbourgs exploited the expanded scope of the picture-book insertions to cultivate their considerable creative and painterly talents and to develop their prodigious command of narrative illustration.

Throughout the manuscript the Limbourg brothers, in executing the full-page illuminations, experimented with various compositional schemata that were essentially set either in a landscape or an architectural structure, or in a radical reduction of both, dominated by the human form. There are many variations and

Fig. 77. *Saint James the Greater*, fol. 160v (detail, border deviation in text frame to accommodate extended text)

Fig. 78. *Nativity*, fol. 48v (detail)

Fig. 79. *Catherine Is Beheaded*, fol. 19v (detail)

permutations of the schemata and none adhere exclusively to one, but instead combine elements of some or all. Nor does any one cycle comprise miniatures exclusively of one schema; rather, all are a combination of two or even all three, depending on the nature of the subject. Comparisons of individual illuminations from the earlier stages of production with those of the picture cycles executed in the later stages reveal the remarkable and innovative progress in the compositional intelligence of the Limbourgs.

The full-page illuminations in the Hours of the Virgin are among the earliest in the manuscript, and several of these represent an early phase in the artistic development of the Limbourgs. The *Nativity* (fol. 48v) is one of these. Set in a deep landscape, the figures, decidedly smaller in scale than most in this series, are dispersed around the periphery of the composition with very little overlap, leaving them relatively isolated and the center of the picture uninhabited (fig. 78). The dramatic pointing gesture of the standing shepherd visually underscores the distance separating the figures. Joseph, resting his head in his hand, gazes out of the picture frame and thus distances himself from the Mother cradling the infant in her lap under rays of divine light. The ground appears to tilt upward, and there is no clear transition from the foreground to the distant background. The shepherd and his flock in the background offer charming episodic detail, but the scene is essentially static, and the figures are seemingly disconnected. Effectively, the disposition of the figures around the peripheries of the picture plane and the mountain peaks tilted toward the corners all draw the eye away, depriving the scene of focus and compositional cohesion.

Catherine Is Beheaded (fol. 19v), executed at the very end of the production of the manuscript, is, by contrast, compositionally tightly focused. The landscape has been reduced to a greensward, modulated only by the deepening tones as it recedes to the much-lowered horizon (fig. 79). The peak, which comes to a point in the upper right corner, echoes on a larger scale its counterpart in the *Nativity*. No longer supporting episodic detail, however, its mass provides a backdrop for the execution, while it counterbalances the facing group of Maxentius and his cohorts and mirrors the form of the kneeling saint. While the group witnessing the central event, like the shepherds in the *Nativity*, are at the edge of the picture frame, the reduced depth of field places them in the foreground and gives them both literal and dramatic weight. The enlarged scale of the figures, the carefully constructed balance of

forms, and the solidity of the composition anchor the narrative drama. Catherine's head, with her hair pulled over her forehead baring her to the executioner's sword, is placed in the center of the picture plane. The coiled stance of the executioner, his sword parallel to the profile of the mountain behind, springs with motion. Maxentius's resolute countenance finds reply in the compassionate look of the man next to him, thus introducing an element of psychological tension. It is a masterful composition, rigorously balanced and focused, while charged with all the dramatic intensity and pathos wanting in the *Nativity*.

In addition to reduced landscapes the Limbourg brothers frequently used architecture as a means of structuring their compositions. An interior screened from the viewer by a double arcade—derived from trecento painting—with a slim colonette providing a central axis was a favored device of the Limbourg brothers and one they used eight times in the manuscript, beginning with the *Annunciation* (fig. 80). Here the arcades separate the two graceful figures visually, according to each a separate space; only the trailing end of the Virgin's robe encroaches on the angel's surroundings. There is no eye contact between Gabriel and the Virgin. His eyes appear to focus on the descending Holy Spirit, while hers are modestly cast downward and she is not yet fully aware of the angel's presence. The figures seem somewhat isolated, compartmentalized, and self-absorbed. The image of God the Father (fol. 30, p. 113, and fig. 182) in the protruding balcony above establishes a rigid triangular schema and underscores the exacting symmetry of the composition, one that is motionless and introspective, yet of measured tone and studied balance. It is a rational, even elegant, composition, but spatially and emotively shallow.

Perhaps the last of the double-arcade compositions to be executed is in *Saint Catherine in Her Study* (fig. 81). Here, rather than taking a lateral view, the arcaded walls recede deep into a chapel with an altar surmounted by a statue of Moses. The figure scale has been slightly reduced, and inhabiting her space more comfortably, Catherine sits in learned concentration examining an unseen book on the lectern in an airy interior. In front of her a large two-tiered circular stand holds numerous weighty and finely bound volumes. In palette and scale this stand counterbalances the saint with her cathedra and lectern. As the central colonette establishes two fields of equal space and mass, it is a visual metaphor equating the saint with knowledge, placing her in a learned universe. This motionless composition set within the elaborate

Fig. 80. *Annunciation*, fol. 30 (detail)

Fig. 81. *Saint Catherine in Her Study*, fol. 25 (detail)

Fig. 82. *Mocking of Christ*, fol. 131v (detail)

Fig. 83. *Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers*, fol. 183 (detail)

architecture of the sanctuary establishes Saint Catherine's intellectual and spiritual authority for the scenes that follow. Although rigidly balanced, the deeply recessive space and diffused light, expressed through the subtle gradation of the pale sage walls, suffuse the space with a numinous calm and create an atmosphere in which self-absorption is supplanted by spiritual elevation.

The expansion of interior space and the clarification of spatial relationships distinguish many of the compositions of the later picture cycles from earlier illuminations in the manuscript. The *Mocking of Christ*, an earlier illumination from the Hours of the Passion, is framed by a frieze of four pendant arcades supported by slender colonettes (fig. 82). These colonettes abut the frames at both sides, and the bases are firmly planted in the lower corners, implying that the scene takes place behind the architectural opening. But this is visually contradicted by the figure at the right who seems to be standing just behind the colonette while his miter appears to be in front of the capital it overlaps. Likewise, several figures with raised arms standing behind Christ read as occupying space in front of the arcade above rather than behind, as the apparent placement of the architecture logically would have it. The tiled floor seems to tilt upward, rising behind the figures it supports.

A similar pendentive arcade frame is used in *Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers*, executed later in the production of the book, but here the space is far more rationalized and the arcade serves as a type of entrance to a complex vaulted interior with blind arcades and double-lancet windows (fig. 83). Within an apsidal space, the pagan scholar sits on his cathedra reading from a lectern while Jerome and the rest of the learned audience sit on the floor in a broader, more open space. The recessive lines of the pink and pale green flooring tiles, the color delineation between the wood and brick vaults, and the differentiated but suffused light all enhance the spatial clarity and rhetorical mode of the image.

In the *Flagellation*, an earlier composition, the image facing the *Mocking of Christ*, the double arcade with the central colonette is reprised, but here the arcade is moved slightly back into the pictorial space, thus allowing the central bundle column to be used as the whipping post (fig. 84). The hint of vaulting suggests an extremely shallow space, and the overlapping figures are commensurately compressed. The several raised arms all wielding whips and scourges indicate dramatic action, but the compression of space and the steep rake of the tiled floor leave the spatial relationships of the numerous overlapping figures somewhat in question.

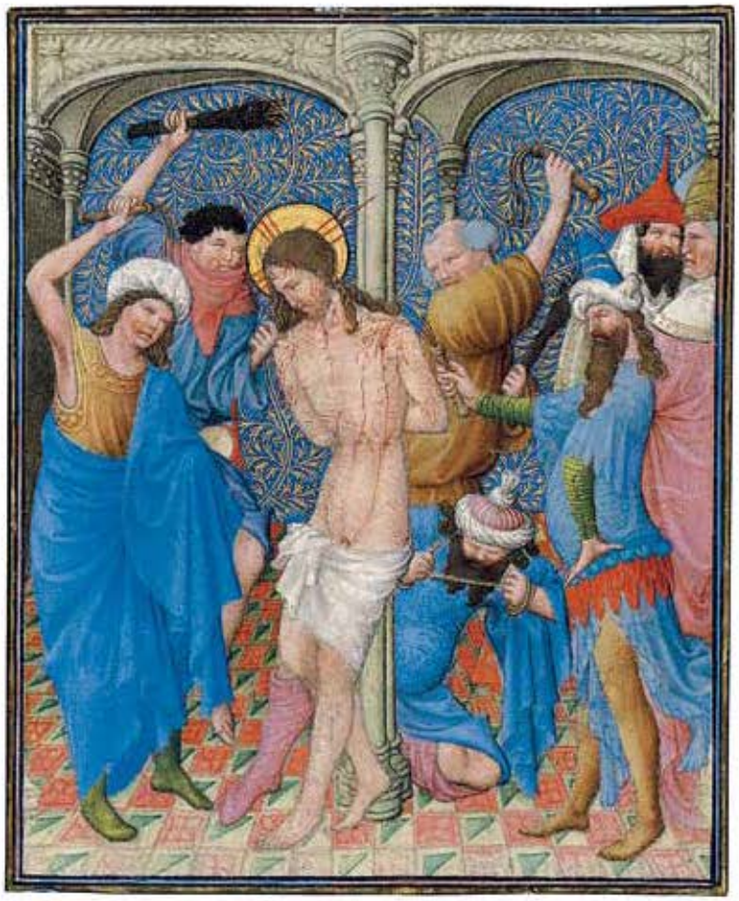


Fig. 84. *Flagellation*, fol. 132 (detail)

Fig. 85. *Saint Catherine Tied to a Column*, fol. 17 (detail)

Saint Catherine Tied to a Column, a later composition, is thematically analogous to the *Flagellation*, and the formal arrangement—the victim bound to a central column flanked by two groups of tormentors—is comparable (fig. 85). The ground has been reduced to a modulated greensward extending to the middle of the picture plane, and the background is tessellated, interrupted only by the appearance of God in the upper left corner. The number of figures has been reduced to the two henchmen binding the saint on one side and Maxentius and two obscured figures behind him on the other side. The contortions of the henchmen tightening the bindings contrast with the staid pose of Maxentius holding a large sword in one hand and pointing with the other. In the absence of an architectural framework, the Limbourg brothers used the frame of the illumination to enhance spatial relationships: the frame partially obscures figures at either side, while Catherine's feet overlap the frame into the viewer's space, implying greater spatial depth. The nimbed saint stands to her full height and appears oblivious to her tormentors, her expression of calm contemplation suggesting she has been transported to a spiritual realm, free from physical anguish. Essentially the Limbourg brothers have shifted the focus from the act of bodily torment to an exemplar of transcendent spirituality.

Some of the Limbourg brothers' most powerful compositions are those in which the settings are similarly reduced to the merest indications of a landscape, often made somewhat ambiguous by the inclusion of large-scale furnishings that are associated with an interior. *Christ before Caiaphas*, for example, is composed in just such a setting. The high priest's massive stepped throne is set on the diagonal against the greensward, and it both isolates him from and counterbalances the group of soldiers surrounding Christ (fig. 86). The reductive setting allows no distractions from the central drama, which is heightened by the two advisers whispering their briefs to the high priest. This detail evokes the moment, allowing the viewer to believe he or she is witnessing events unfolding rather than merely contemplating the representation of a historic event. While the foreshortened features of the advisers are somewhat awkward, and the massing of the figures around Christ results in dense overlapping, the sense of immediacy this vignette elicits is a dramatic innovation and an early display of the narrative alchemy in which the brothers increasingly excel.

Fig. 86. *Christ before Caiaphas*, fol. 124 (detail)

Fig. 87. *Saint Catherine Confounds the Learned*, fol. 16 (detail)

In *Saint Catherine Confounds the Learned* a similar compositional scheme is developed in a very different manner. Here there is no clear indication of the locus, as the cathedra would suggest an interior, whereas the fire would indicate an exterior setting. The scene is nonetheless dominated by the elaborate, stepped throne and the preeminence of a single figure confronted by a group (fig. 87). Unlike *Christ before Caiaphas*, however, the two groupings are not separated by a void but unified in a composition anchored by a strong diagonal. The point of view has reversed, from an elevated one to a foreshortened vantage from below. The change in perspective avoids the "layered head" effect and allows for individual definition and clearer spatial relationships. Moreover, the fact that the viewer as well as Maxentius and his doctors must look up to the monumental figure of Catherine, isolated from the assembled group by the back of the cathedra, visually and psychologically establishes the spiritual and intellectual authority of the saint. It is a powerful, innovative, and dramatically charged image.

Economy in structure and refinement of palette are hallmarks of the more advanced narrative compositions. A striking example is the scene of Carthusians entering the Grande Chartreuse. The pointed mountain and the mass of the tall portal both bracket and offset the monks, while the finely tessellated background only momentarily diverts the eye from the focus of the narrative (fig. 89). The large-scaled figures fill much of the picture field, and all but one figure are clothed in white robes, delicately but fully modeled in gradations of white to pale gray. Rendered volumetrically, each inhabits his own space, bringing a clarity of spatial relationship not previously encountered. A palpable sense of movement is created in a highly inventive manner. At the left rear, two men face each other in profile, heads tilted forward and one hand visibly gesturing, intent in conversation; this animated but stationary group anchors the action. The rest of the figures move on a diagonal toward the portal, and as they approach they begin to lean forward, bow their heads, and raise their hands in prayer, while the foremost figure disappears into the church. The episodic detail of the monk holding the small opening of his hood so he can see his way brings a note of naturalism to the scene. The compositional harmony and coherence are unexcelled in the manuscript.

As the picture cycles advanced, increasing in both scope and pictorial ambition, not only the individual compositions but also

Fig. 88. *Bishop Hugh Receiving Bruno and His Companions*, fol. 96v (detail)

Fig. 89. *Entering the Grande Chartreuse*, fol. 97 (detail)

the visual links between them—both implied and literal—likewise developed. Continuity of imagery was not a concern in the Hours of the Virgin, as text intervenes between every illumination. Although each Hour of the Office of the Passion is graced with a pair of illuminations, they are facing only when the preceding text happens to end on the recto. This occurs only in four instances—Matins, Lauds, Prime, and Sext—and there is little if any formal or graphic connection between one and the other. In the case of the *Betrayal* (see fol. 123v, p. 171) and *Christ before Caiaphas* (fig. 86), for example, there is no visible relationship. Indeed, in the former, the action spills into the picture plane from the left and ends near the right border with backs of the figures halting the action at a void. Opposite, Caiaphas in effect turns his back on the previous scene, as his massive throne creates a formidable physical and visual barrier. Only the dragons in the borders above—the one on the verso turns back menacingly to face his hissing counterpoint on the recto—provide a pictorial link between the two folios. In the *Mocking of Christ* and the *Flagellation* (fols. 131v–132), both compositions are densely packed with figures whose overlapping forms obscure spatial relationships (see figs. 82, 84). While arms are reaching in a variety of gestures, suggesting action and motion, the compressed space cramps the movement, and the flat and linear architecture reduces the depth of the picture field. Both images focus inward—indeed, the figures against the inner frames of both miniatures have their backs to each other—and little other than the rhythmic march of the arcading suggests a connection between one image and the other.

In the four major picture cycles, however, there is a palpable attempt to link one image to the next, binding the entire narrative into a coherent whole. In some, these linkages are rather direct. In the Diocrès-Bruno cycle, for example, there is an empathic movement from left to right, from one image to the next. In three consecutive miniatures—*Saint Bruno Leaves Paris*, *The Vision of Bishop Hugh*, and *Bishop Hugh Receiving Bruno and His Companions* (fols. 95v–96v)—portals, roads, doorways, and other architectural connectors lead the viewer in from the left and out to the next image on the right. In folio 96v (fig. 88), a tall, narrow barrel-vaulted passageway behind the bishop indicates the exit from this scene and into the next (fig. 89). Color plays an important role in these transitions: the bright orange-red of Bruno's sleeve—in an otherwise cool palette—in the scene of the saint leaving Paris, relates to the bishop's like-colored bedclothing in the next scene. The saturated blue of the bishop's cope in the next scene trails out of the right side of the picture field and links with

Fig. 90. *Lions Help Saint Anthony Bury Saint Paul*, fol. 193v (detail)

Fig. 91. *Saint Anthony Is Attacked by Devils*, fol. 194 (detail)

the similarly toned robe of the figure emerging from the left side of the facing picture, *Entering the Grande Chartreuse*.

In the Paul-Anthony cycle, facing pages more or less repeat compositions establishing an AA (fols. 191v–192), BB (fols. 192v–193), CC (fols. 193v–194) rhythm (figs. 90, 91). In the first two pairs Anthony is always placed in the lower left corner, while the object of his peregrinations—Saint Paul's hermitage—is always sited in the upper right corner, thus dictating the diagonal direction of movement (fols. 191v–193, pp. 233–35). In the third pair of images, the diagonals of Saint Paul's grave and that of Saint Anthony's sarcophagus, in the facing image, echo this diagonal movement, underscored by the hermitage, now uninhabited, still sited in the upper right corner. This edifice is nearly replicated in mirror image in the upper left corner of the facing illumination, thus providing a portal from one image into the next. The sense of forward motion is heightened in these images by the progressive lowering of the horizon, which visually deepens the landscape, all the while drawing the focus of the composition from the background to the foreground.

In the Jerome cycle, the Limbourgs were faced with a longer and more complex story. Rather than a linear narrative essentially following a single plot thread—in both the Diocrès-Bruno and Paul-Anthony cycles, a single-minded quest for spiritual attainment—the Jerome cycle is more of a series of episodes, one not necessarily leading to or even related to another, dispersed over the Church father's long and eventful life. In four instances, the eye is drawn to the next verso image by the expediency of the portal leading out of the right border of the recto image, as was employed in the Diocrès-Bruno cycle. But other images are less literal. The Limbourgs employed juxtapositions of voids and solids and created harmonic counterpoints through the use of color, all of which brings a pulsating visual movement to the images that, in their own way, just as effectively as the architectural devices, prod the eye to anticipate the next image. In *Saint Jerome's Dream* and *Saint Jerome Is Ordained as a Cardinal* (fols. 183v–184, p. 219), the deepening blue celestial void finds response in the massive weight of the cathedra and stalls of the pope and his cardinals. Palette is especially important here: the white of the angels' and the clerics' robes, the brilliant orange-red of the seraphim and the cardinals' hats, the cool celestial blue and the warm tawny tones of the choir stalls and Jerome's mat create a counterpoint of tonalities that tease the eye into motion. Throughout this cycle, color is used with startling effect to direct the viewer's gaze.

In *Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw* and the *Lion Finds the Missing Ass* color plays a significant role. The

Fig. 92. *Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw*, fol. 186v (detail)

Fig. 93. *The Lion Finds the Missing Ass*, fol. 187 (detail)

kneeling Jerome ministers to the lion, with one companion assisting with a ewer and towel as three more emerge from a now-familiar "access" portal and raise their hands in wonder as they witness the astonishing event. This constitutes one of the most exquisitely composed and rendered groups in the entire manuscript (fig. 92). The flowing graceful folds of the monks' habits, modeled with tonal gradation of infinite delicacy, seem all the more lyrical for their muted and textured brown hues. While the weight of the composition is clearly on the left side, the Limbourgs, with astonishing boldness, counterbalance this supple and volumetric group with a multitiered fountain of architectural complexity rendered in soft but insistent pastel pinks, strikingly set off by the rich green of the landscape and intense blue of the patterned background. With the addition of Jerome's vivid orange-red cardinal's hat, the colors throb, and the eye virtually bounces from element to element. The harmonious balance of form and color is emphasized by the subtle brilliance of the brushwork, particularly evident in the fluid folds of the monks' habits rendered with exquisite shifts of textures and tonalities. A nearly identical palette is used in the facing image, but here the robe of the wood gatherer, who appears in three separate but visually concurrent actions, punctuates the scene otherwise rendered in pale, muted earth tones, attracting the eye at every point (fig. 93). The pair of scenes is thoroughly balanced—essentially bookended—by the mirror image of a portal with Jerome and his companions issuing forth.

The Catherine cycle, likewise, exhibits a series of virtuoso compositions. As in all of the four major cycles, the story of Catherine begins—on the opening recto—with a single scholarly or contemplative image, in this case, Catherine engrossed in her studies.[3] Like the other cycles, Catherine's saga unfolds in a series of images capturing key episodes of her earthly life. Both structure and color lead the eye from one scene to the next. The compositions, particularly those on the recto, are heavily weighted on the right edge of the picture plane, from airiness to dense mass, and the direction of movement is underscored by a strong compositional diagonal leading from the lower left to the upper right. In *Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol* (fig. 95), for example, the saint is isolated in her own space and visually separated from the emperor and his men by the column supporting the idol, whereas the group merges out of the picture plane creating a diagonal that draws the eye out of this image and on to the next.

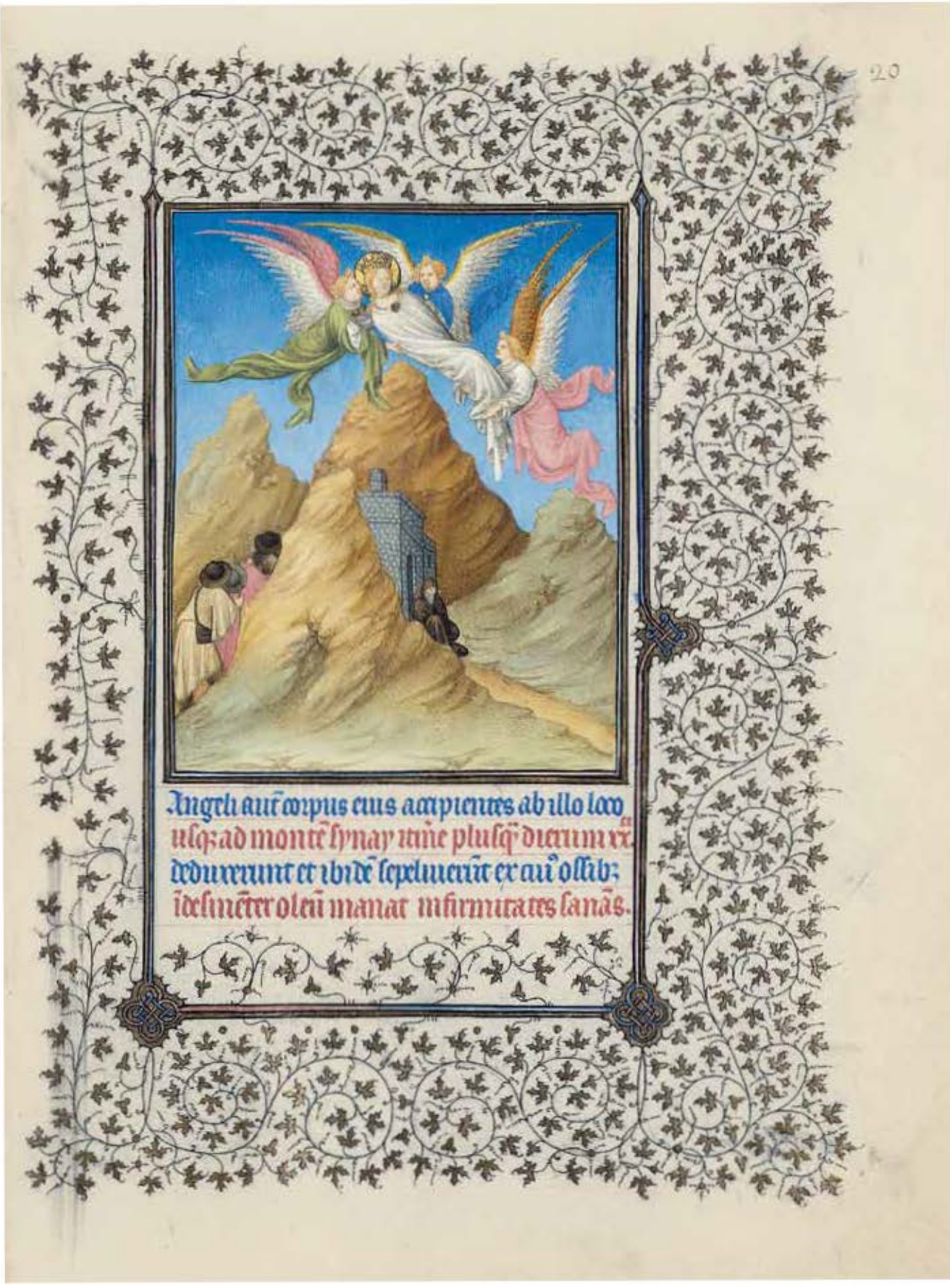


Fig. 94. *Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to Mount Sinai*, fol. 20 (detail)

Fig. 95. *Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol*, fol. 15v (detail)

The emphatic repetition of the diagonal composition on the facing recto in *Saint Catherine Confounds the Learned* and the mass of the composition, weighted to the right, naturally draw the eye until it rests on the saint, so exaltedly conceived (see fig. 87). The opening thus begins with Catherine isolated in the lower left and ends with her elevated in the upper right. The increasing mass across the diagonally composed narrative images, further connected by like tessellated backgrounds, creates a pictorial crescendo.

With the exception of the final image, landscape and architecture are greatly simplified, providing the barest indication of setting along with compositional balance. The attenuated, statuesque figures dominate the picture plane. Color plays a critical role as well throughout the narrative. The apposition of the rich blue of Catherine's mantle and the arresting rose pink of Maxentius's robe creates a counterpoint rhythmically accented with brilliant, but modulated white, pale sage green, muted ocher, and pale mauve. The saturated heavenly blue graces the faithful and the persecuted, whereas the exotic pastels identify the pagans. Although action—indeed, horrific violence—abounds, these events are not in and of themselves the subjects; rather the spiritual triumph over them dominates every image. Throughout, stoicism reinforced by committed faith transcends physical torment. Catherine's venerable calm contrasts with the expression and demeanor of Maxentius, which grow ever more anxious and troubled with every event he witnesses. Especially distinctive here are the restrained settings, sculptural figures, integrated compositions, and captivating dramas. In the Saint Catherine cycle, the mode of composition serves the narrative function with a clarity and finesse not found with such consistency in the rest of the manuscript. Palette is fully exploited for maximum dramatic effect. The brushwork is exceptional throughout, achieving finely modeled figures draped with supple folds of sculptural drapery enhanced by subtly controlled tonalities. The finely worked faces are highly individualized and replete with emotive character. No other cycle is so emotionally and psychologically charged. Here compositional coherency and narrative potency coincide.

Just as the inserted picture cycles all commence with a contemplative scene, all but that of Saint Jerome close with a "surprise" image, a composition that contrasts in form, palette, and mood with all those that proceed.[4] In the case of Saint Catherine, after reduced landscape with little or no topographical detail, the viewer is greeted with a fully developed landscape picturing the barren mountain of Sinai and a view of the monastery depicted with sufficient accuracy to suggest at least secondhand knowledge of its appearance (fig. 94).[5] In the other cycles the element of surprise is heightened by virtue of being on the final verso. But in the Saint Catherine cycle, the view of Sinai and the transporting of Catherine's soul fall on the final facing recto; turning the leaf, the verso proves to be blank. The cycle thus seems somehow incomplete or rushed, a surmise that is supported by the fact that the sequence of events is in several cases disordered, and the legends do not always correspond to the image.[6] It is as though the Limbourg brothers, having exploited their artistic expectations in the *Belles Heures*, were eager to move on to their next major project: the breathtaking illuminations of the *Très Riches Heures*.

1. See Meiss 1974, p. 112. For a discussion of the picture-book insertions, see ibid., pp. 113–33. John the Baptist is not addressed, but the Passion cycle, unusually richly illustrated, is remarked upon.
2. The cause of the duke's death is not documented. Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink (2005, p. 26) assert that the Limbourgs most likely died of some epidemic, perhaps the plague, and that the duke "probably also perished in the same outbreak."
3. The Diocrès and Bruno cycle commences with Diocrès fervently reading a long scroll (fol. 94); Jerome is attentively listening to an exposition on ancient philosophy (fol. 183); and Paul is regarding with intense alarm a Christian being sorely tempted by the devil in the guise of a seductive young woman (fol. 191).
4. The Bruno cycle, dominated by interior views, ends with a bird's-eye view of the Grande Chartreuse and its surrounding landscape. The Paul-Anthony cycle, on the other hand, occurs entirely in open landscapes, but closes with an interior view of monks reading Mass over the saint's body.
5. See Meiss and Beatson 1974 for comments on fol. 20.
6. According to *The Golden Legend*, Maxentius first had Catherine beaten and then thrown into prison. Here the events are reversed, and the legend for *Saint Catherine Tied to a Column* refers to the preceding image. *The Golden Legend* also declares that the queen confessed her conversion only after she witnessed Catherine's torture on the wheel of knives, but here the events are again reversed.

Sources and Influences

Artists and Artisans

The Limbourg brothers were born into a family of craftsmen and artists. Their grandfather, Willem Maelwael, and his brother, the Limbourg boys' great-uncle, Herman Maelwael, both painters and artisans, were residents of Nijmegen and first appear in the municipal documents as landowners in the 1380s.[1] Their principal patron was William I, duke of Guelders (1363–1402), along with his wife Catherine of Bavaria-Holland (1358–1400), and members of their itinerant court. One of their most important castles, Het Valkhof, was located within the city walls of Nijmegen. Both Maelwael brothers appear in the ducal accounts numerous times between 1386 and 1397, having received extensive commissions largely as heraldic painters, providing their patron with pennants, banners, and the decoration of weapons and armor all in connection with the duke's travels, tournaments, processions, ceremonial entries, pageants, and the like. The documents indicate that the brothers often sewed, embroidered, and painted dozens of banners, carriage pennants, and lance pennons, and produced as many as one hundred and fifty painted tournament shields in a single commission.[2] In this context, it is interesting to note that the Dutch word for painting (*schilderen*) derives from the word for shield (*schild*).[3] The documents also indicate that the Maelwael brothers were often engaged in the fabrication and gilding of diverse objects. In 1390, for example, Herman supplied the duke with seventeen gilded message pouches emblazoned with the ducal arms and three gilded message pouches with the arms of his wife.[4] Artists of this period were required to master a variety of techniques, and there was little demarcation among the various crafts. Many artists were trained as goldsmiths but also had to be proficient as painters, illuminators, and carvers.[5] Since much of what these artists produced for their patrons was ephemeral, precious little has survived.

Fol. 185v (detail)

Herman Maelwael also appears to have received commissions through the supreme King of Arms, or Herald for the Maas and Rhine region, a certain Claes Heynenzoon, who styled himself the Gelre, or Guelders Herald. While in the service of William of Guelders he compiled the *Wapenboek Gelre*, or the *Guelders Armorial* (ca. 1395), now in Brussels, and contributed many of the poems and panegyrics contained in it.[6] Three drawings in the manuscript—a portrait of Claes Heynenzoon, a rendering of the Holy Roman Emperor and his Electors, and a coat of arms—are of such high quality that several scholars have argued that they must have been painted by a member of the Maelwael family. As Herman Maelwael is recorded as having completed work for the Guelders Herald in 1388–90, he is generally presumed to be that person.[7]

Willem Maelwael had a daughter, Mechteld or Metta, and a son, Johan. Metta married Arnold de Lymborch, about 1385. Arnold de Lymborch seems to have been born and raised in Nijmegen, and his name appears numerous times in the local records and archives between 1389 and 1419, identified as a sculptor (*beeltsnijder*).[8] It was no doubt through his Maelwael father-in-law that Arnold, too, obtained work from the duke of Guelders, in this case producing wood carvings (*gesnedene werke*) for Het Valkhof.[9] Willem's son, Johan, Metta's brother,[10] became the most famous painter of the Maelwael family—the name means "paints well." All the Maelwaels were known primarily as heraldic painters, and it was in this capacity that Johan received his first commission from the Valois court from Isabeau of Bavaria, then regent of France acting in the stead of her mentally compromised husband Charles VI, in 1396 when the young Maelwael was already a resident in Paris. By summer of the next year he was working for Philip the Bold of Burgundy, becoming his painter and *varlet de chambre* at the ducal court in Dijon. Although there is no incontrovertible documentary evidence, it has been argued that the brothers Willem and Herman Maelwael, who are last mentioned in the ducal accounts in Guelders between 1395 and 1397,[11] following the younger Johan, decamped shortly afterward for France. When the Maelwael brothers left for Paris they may have been escorting Herman and Jean de Limbourg—Willem's grandsons and Herman's great-nephews—a prudent arrangement given the boys' youth.[12] The boys were subsequently apprenticed to

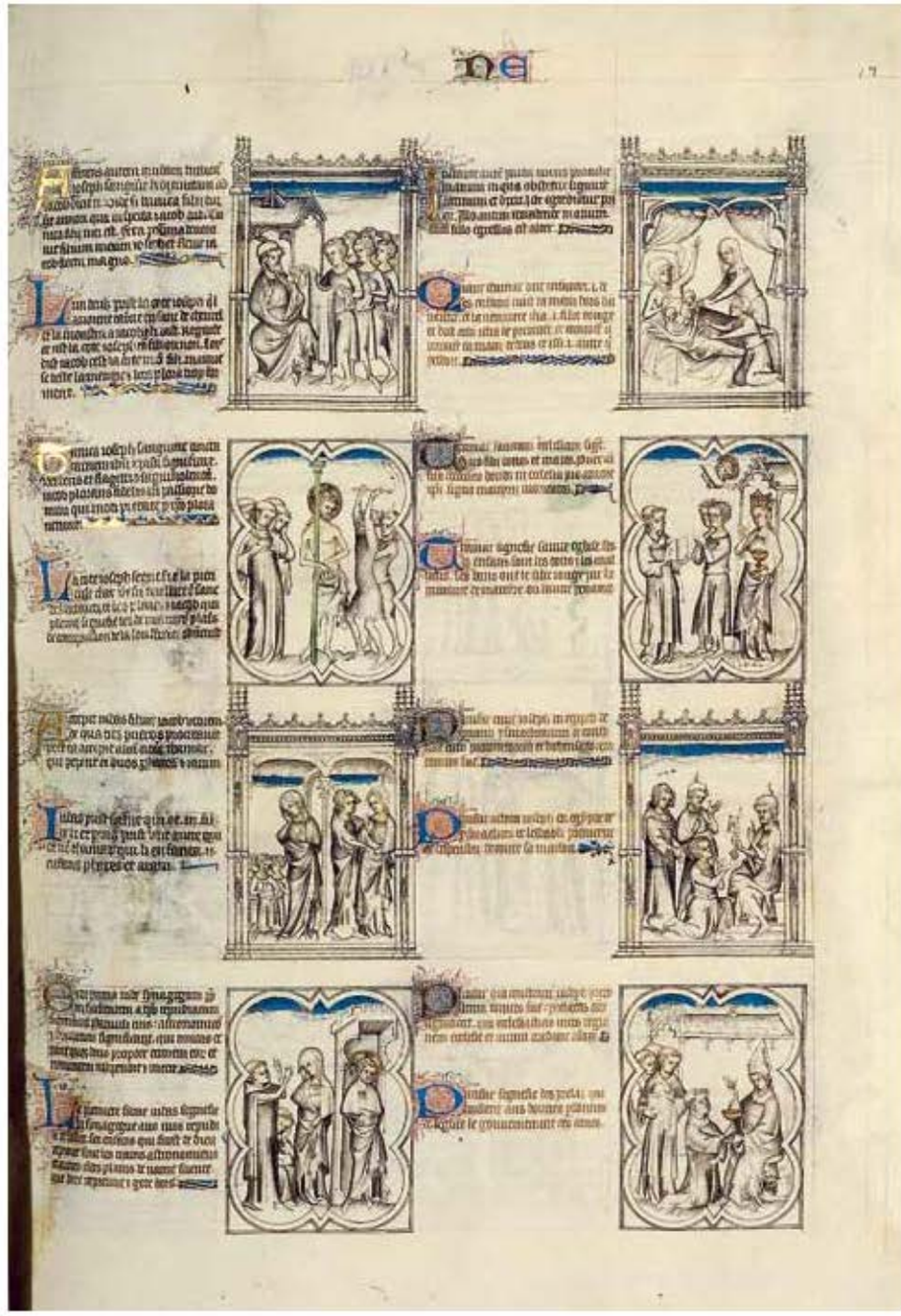


Fig. 96. *Bible moralisée of John the Good.* Paris, 1349–52. Grisaille and color wash on parchment, 16⅜ × 11⅞ in. (41.5 × 29 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 167, fol. 12)

the Luxembourgeois Alebret de Bolure, a goldsmith working in Paris, who had supplied goods to Philip the Bold, and whom Johan Maelwael may have met when he was in Paris, thus putting this uncle in a position to make the arrangement for the Limbourg boys. And it is almost certainly through this uncle that Paul and Jean de Limbourg received the commission in 1402 to illuminate the duke's "très belle et notable Bible." Herman Maelwael, like his nephew Johan, may also have worked for the Valois princes.[13] The point is proven, according to one authority, by close examination of the drawing of *The Holy Roman Emperor with His Electors* in the *Wapenboek Gelre* and of the underdrawing of *The Confessors* detached from the *Turin Hours* and now in the Louvre, both of which reveal strikingly close parallels in their bold linearity, hatching patterns, and fishhook endings of the curved lines.[14] If this was the case, then at least Herman was in the employ, however briefly, of Jean de Berry. Likewise, it may well have been that, even though the talented boys are very unlikely to have escaped the attention of Jean de Berry, Herman facilitated the shift in patronage after the death of the duke of Burgundy to his elder brother, the duke of Berry.

The prodigious talent of the Limbourg boys must have manifested itself early on, and the boys' parents as well as the Maelwael family quickly determined to foster and nurture their exceptional gifts. It was certainly in the context of this extended family that

Fig. 97. Paul and Jean de Limbourg, *Bible moralisée*, ca. 1402–4. Ink and tempera on parchment, 16⅝ × 11⅞ in. (42.5 × 29 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 166, fol. 12)

the Limbourg brothers were exposed to artists and artistic production. And because of their youth—Herman and Jean were not more than thirteen and ten, respectively, when they departed for Paris—it seems unlikely that they had traveled widely beyond Nijmegen. Their first exposure must have been to what was produced in the workshops of their extended family and to the artistic production in and around Nijmegen. They may well have visited monuments and workshops on their journey to Paris and, two years later, on their way home and then during their unexpected detention in Brussels. Once they had settled into the Valois courts in Dijon, Paris, Bourges, and elsewhere, the Limbourg brothers would have had little need to venture far beyond the ducal precincts, for here were some of the richest assemblages of art to be found in western Europe of the period. The dukes not only engaged the finest native artists and craftsmen but also imported them from the Netherlands and from Italy.[25] Works of art and precious objects of every type were likewise imported by traders, merchants, and emissaries. A more abundant source of artistic inspiration would be hard to imagine.

Sources Close at Hand

As we have noted, the earliest known commission of the Limbourg brothers essentially involved the replication of the *Bible moralisée* that John II the Good had made between 1349 and 1352 and that

his son—and the Limbourgs' first documented patron—Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, had acquired from his nephew Charles VI, perhaps at the onset of the king's insanity about 1392.[16] Philip was in possession of the *Bible moralisée* at the time he engaged the Limbourgs, and eventually it was inherited by his son John the Fearless. The text, format, and layout of Philip the Bold's new *Bible moralisée* closely followed its earlier model, which, in this case, must have been physically placed before the brothers. The miniatures' fields are of virtually the same format and employ a similar system of alternating hexafoil and architectural frames (figs. 96, 97), and, at least initially, even the compositions of the individual scenes follow their prototypes. However restrictive the model was intended, the artistic creativity of the Limbourgs nonetheless found its expression. On the formal level they brought greater invention and variety to the architectural framing and rendered the hexafoil frames in a vibrant orange while executing the architecture with greater depth and volume. Although the illuminations recall the grisaille images of their model through the predominance of white and soft grays tinged with muted tonalities, the brothers also introduced landscapes dominated by rich greens and diminutive but often complex architectural settings. They attempted to show spatial recession by compositional devices enhanced by the atmospheric effects of a pale sky on the horizon yielding to intense blues deeper in the firmament. In the opening scenes of Genesis the brothers followed the model in outline, but carefully constructed the figures, giving them volumetric form while creating a dimensionality in their settings, all of which is wanting in the earlier model. The brothers were thus able to adhere formally to their given model while pictorially transcending it.[17] If the duke had intended this project as a proving ground for the young artists, he could not have been disappointed, as his remunerations in 1402 through 1404—assuming that the documents in fact refer to the Paris *Bible moralisée*—suggest. The duke of Berry was apparently impressed, for he speedily secured the services of the Limbourg brothers immediately after his own brother's death in 1404.

As discussed earlier, just before, or just as, the brothers began work on the *Belles Heures* the duke required of them three illuminations in the still-incomplete *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*. Assuredly the brothers carefully examined the miniatures in this manuscript that had been executed by the Master of the Parement de Narbonne, probably Jean d'Orléans, and other hands a decade or more earlier. These compositions greatly influenced several of the brothers' earlier illuminations in the *Belles Heures*, particularly those in the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Passion. The *Annunciation* (fig. 98), for example, which itself refers quite explicitly to that in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (fig. 99),[18] provided all the essential composition elements for that in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 100): the portal through which the angel emerges, the book easel referring to the Virgin's knowledge of the law of God, and the unusual detail of God the Father above in a balcony, from whom rays of light emanate, bearing the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The double arcade with a central slender colonette framing the scene, employed by the Parement Master in the *Visitation* (see fig. 37), is adopted by the Limbourgs not only in the *Annunciation* but seven other times in the *Belles Heures*.

Compositions throughout the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* have a direct bearing on their counterparts in the *Belles Heures*. Several elements in the *Taking of Christ* (fig. 102), for example, are recalled in the Limbourgs' treatment of the same subject (fig. 103). These include the central figures of Christ, who turns his cheek toward Judas but does not look at him, of Judas, who leans forward to kiss Christ, and of the coarse soldier who clutches the robe of Christ—the composition of which essentially replicates that in the *Parement de Narbonne* (fig. 101). The lantern, with its door open, and held aloft by an ancillary figure, is nearly identical in both versions. In his composition of the *Flagellation* (fig. 104) the Parement Master uses the central colonette of the arcade as the column to which Christ was bound as he had earlier in the *Parement de Narbonne* (fig. 101), a compositional exigency the Limbourgs adopted in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 105). The Limbourgs likewise followed the symmetrical placing of the four surrounding figures and even repeated the surprising orange and green color scheme of the tiled floor, if in more muted tones. The Limbourgs also followed the Parement Master in their *Carrying of the Cross*, with Christ looking forlornly back at his Mother who helps support the Cross as the procession emerges from the narrow city gate (figs. 106, 107).

It should be noted also that general compositional correspondences with the aforementioned illuminations in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* as well as some of these specific motifs also appear in the *Bible moralisée*. Both the arrangement of figures and the architecture of the city gates in the *Carrying of the Cross* in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* are, for example, closely followed in the *Bible moralisée*. And the striking orange-red and gray-green tiles in the *Flagellation* appear in a more muted pink and pale green in the corresponding illumination in the *Bible moralisée* (fol. 12; see fig. 97). The motif of the Virgin helping Christ to carry the Cross as he looks back at her appears in another version of the *Carrying of the Cross in the Bible moralisée* (fol. 19). It seems likely, then, that the Limbourg brothers must have known the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* while they were working on their commission for Philip the Bold. This is made all the more likely if, as several scholars assert,[19] the Limbourgs' great-uncle Herman Maelwael was one of the illuminators working on the second campaign in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*.

Although it remains uncertain when and under what circumstances the Limbourg brothers encountered the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, there can be no doubt that they knew the

Fig. 98. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, probably Jean d'Orléans, and Workshop (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Annunciation*. *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, begun by ca. 1390. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7⅝ in. (27.9 × 19.3 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 2)

Fig. 99. Jean Pucelle (French, active in Paris, ca. 1320–34). *Annunciation*. The *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*, ca. 1324–28. Grisaille and tempera on vellum, 3½ × 2⅜ in. (8.9 × 6.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2, fol. 16)

Fig. 100. *Annunciation*, fol. 30 (detail)

Fig. 101. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, probably Jean d'Orléans (Paris, active last third of 14th century). *Arrest* and *Flagellation*, *Parement de Narbonne*, ca. 1375–78. Grisaille on silk, 30¾ in. × 9⅓ ft. (78 cm. × 2.86 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris (M.I. 1121, detail)

Fig. 102. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, probably Jean d'Orléans, and Workshop (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Taking of Christ. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, begun by ca. 1390. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7⅜ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 281, detail)

Fig. 103. *Betrayal*, fol. 123v (detail)

Fig. 104. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, probably Jean d'Orléans, and Workshop (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Flagellation. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, begun by ca. 1390. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7¾ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 197, detail)

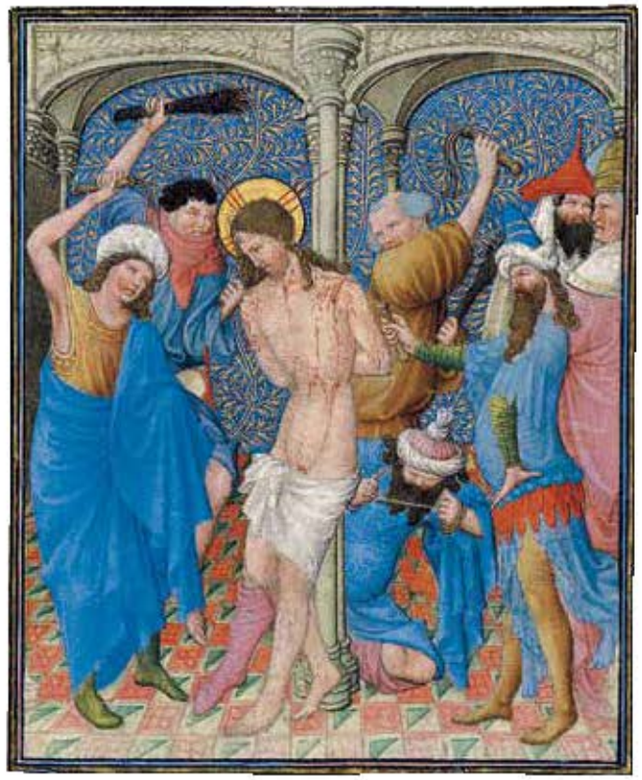


Fig. 105. *Flagellation*, fol. 132 (detail)

Fig. 106. Master of the Parement de Narbonne, probably Jean d'Orléans, and Workshop (Paris, active last third of the 14th century). *Christ Carrying the Cross. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, begun ca. 1390. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7¾ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 203, detail)

Fig. 107. *Carrying of the Cross*, fol. 138v (detail)

manuscript well. More than specific motifs, the Limbourg brothers discerned in the illuminations of this manuscript a conceptual visualization of landscape and how the human form relates to it. The scene in the *Belles Heures* of Saint Eustace losing his sons (fig. 108), for example, with its preternatural jagged outcroppings, the rendering of the water in ribbons of silver overpainted with translucent golden glazes, the gradations of earthy green tonalities, the diminutive city walls and spires peaking over the distant horizon, and the solid forms of figures that counterbalance the mass of the mountains are all deeply informed by the *Baptism of Christ* by the Baptist Master in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (fig. 109).

The Limbourgs took from the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* a means to construct a stage for playing out the divine and divinely inspired dramas they sought to illustrate. Although portraying a recognizable world and its defining characteristics—human-made architecture and the divinely wrought natural world—it is not naturalistically represented in this earlier manuscript. The architecture can barely house its outscaled occupants, and beasts, woods, and mountains are diminutive ciphers next to the actors, for it is their actions or what those actions signify that is the subject of these illuminations. The Limbourgs, throughout the *Belles Heures*, constantly assay their formulation of setting, informing it with progressively less detail relative to the figures that populate it and the history they convey. The driving objective of the Limbourgs was to animate and energize the narrative image. While the compositional formulations were inspired by the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, the brothers imbued their settings with atmospheric light and recessive space that clarified or, at least, suggested, rational spatial relationships. But more to their intent, they brought to the human form a sense of radiating purpose, a physical tension, and an emotive content that significantly enlivened their narrative imagery. A comparison of *The Apostles Disperse* by the Holy Spirit Master (fig. 110) and *Saint Bruno Leaves Paris* by the Limbourgs (fig. 111) underscores the palpable progress in this regard, whereas the compositions themselves and even the palette are strikingly similar. The apostles, turned in different directions, are immobile, seemingly arrested in their compressed space. Bruno and his companions, by contrast, are by gesture, stance, torque of body, and curve of drapery marked with purpose and direction. Bruno himself emotes a spiritual strength and conviction that inspire the group's mission.

Whereas the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* informed the Limbourg brothers' work in a fundamental manner, other works of art with which they were familiar provided them with specific models. Such is the case with the large tondo representing the

Fig. 108. *Saint Eustace Loses His Sons*, fol. 164v (detail)

Fig. 109. Baptist Master and the Master of the Holy Spirit (Paris, active late 14th–early 15th century). *Baptism of Christ. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, ca. 1405. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7¾ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 162, detail)

Trinity and Pietà (fig. 112), certainly one of the most important French paintings executed about 1400, which has long been attributed to the uncle of the Limbourg brothers, Johan Maelwael.[20] By 1397 Maelwael was in Dijon serving as *peintre* and *varlet de chambre* to Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. By 1402 Paul and Jean de Limbourg—presumably on the recommendation of Maelwael—were also in the employ of the duke. Any doubt that the boys had firsthand knowledge of this extraordinary tondo is expunged by a comparison of the figure of the dead Christ with that in the *Lamentation* in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 113). Rotating the figure in the miniature to an upright position, the comparison is striking; only the angle of the head differs substantially. The positioning of the limp elongated body and limbs, and the attitude of the hands, in particular, are essentially identical. What appears to have impressed the brothers most, however, is the careful rendering of the nude body—save the diaphanous cloth over his loins—detailing bone structure and musculature and depicting the streams of clotted blood with pathological accuracy, all of which the brothers strove to convey, albeit in much smaller scale, signaling an enduring interest in the nude form.

Salient, if less trenchant, parallels have been, likewise, observed between compositions of the Limbourg brothers' illuminations, particularly in the *Belles Heures*, and those of the outer wings of the Altarpiece of the Crucifixion painted by Melchior Broederlam (ca. 1355–ca. 1411) between 1393 and 1399 (fig. 114)[21] and brought by him to Dijon in 1399. Throughout the *Belles Heures* the brothers repeat the somewhat capricious spatial relationship between the architecture, which serves as an elaborate proscenium, and the landscape. Like Broederlam they have far more concern for the figures and the drama they project than the rational construction of the space they inhabit. The compositions of the *Visitation* (fol. 42v, p. 116), *Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 57, p. 125) and *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 63, p. 129) in the *Belles Heures* essentially follow those in Broederlam's panels. Mary and her cousin, flanked by architecture, stand in a landscape dominated by a conical mountain in the middle ground and peaks in the distance surmounted by a walled city; a source issuing forth spring water is prominent in both. In the *Presentation* the Temple is an open set framing the central image of the Virgin handing over an apparently reluctant Child to Simeon. All the basic elements in the *Flight into Egypt* reappear in the *Belles Heures*, including the massive form of the Virgin draped in copious folds of her mantle astride a rather undersized donkey, the shattering idol on a column, and the barren rocky pinnacle in the distance. Such correspondences

Fig. 110. Master of the Holy Spirit (Paris, active late 14th–early 15th century). *The Apostles Disperse. Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, ca. 1405. Ink and tempera on parchment, 11 × 7¾ in. (27.9 × 19.9 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, p. 178)

Fig. 111. *Saint Bruno Leaves Paris*, fol. 95v (detail)

Fig. 112. Johan Maelwael (Netherlandish, 1370/75–1415). *Trinity and Pietà*, ca. 1400. Tondo: tempera on panel, Diam. 25⅜ in. (64.5 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (Inv. M.I. 692)

Fig. 113. *Lamentation*, fol. 149v (detail)

Fig. 114. Melchior Broederlam (ca. 1355–ca. 1411). Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, outer wings, 1393–99. Tempera on wood panel, 65¾ × 98⅛ in. (167 × 249 cm). Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon (Inv. CA 1420)

in specific detail suggest a relationship that extends beyond the compositional conventions of the period. There are, however, palpable differences. The Limbourgs' treatment of the human form emphasizes weight and monumentality and the drapery patterns reveal the underlying physical forms, while stances, gestures, and facial expression bring unprecedented dramatic charge to the scenes. The depth of field has been radically compressed so architecture and landscape are reduced to mere backdrops that set off the human drama. In Broederlam's *Flight* the figures merge with the landscape; in the Limbourgs' the figures are the sole occupants of the otherwise voided foreground space.

Striking, though less synoptic, compositional similarities are evident between a Franco-Netherlandish drawing of the Mocking of Christ and the illumination of the same subject in the *Belles Heures* (figs. 115, 118),[22] notably in the figure with one hand over the eyes of Christ and the other raised in the air as well as the figure to the right looking over his shoulder with his right arm poised to strike. As has been observed, the fleshy heads with beady eyes in the drawing are stylistically close to those in the group of witnesses to the beheading of Saint Denis in the Altarpiece of Saint Denis attributed to Johan Maelwael and finished in 1416, the year after his death, by Henri Bellechose (first recorded in Burgundy in 1415, d. 1445), who replaced Maelwael as the duke's *varlet de chambre*. The drawing records—perhaps with intermediaries as suggested by the reversed figures of Christ and his most immediate tormenter—a composition by or in the circle of Maelwael, of which the Limbourgs were evidently aware.

Several other such vignettes of Netherlandish origin have likewise been observed in the illuminations of the *Belles Heures*. As the creative landscape within the sphere of influence of the dukes of Guelders in the late fourteenth century was undoubtedly a rich one, no doubt many more could be identified, had not so much of the artistic legacy been lost to the ravages of time.[23] In several instances, details in illuminations in the *Belles Heures* appear to be more or less direct quotes from contemporary works emanating from the South Lowlands. The more arresting of these is the *Flight into Egypt* on the outer wing of a pinnacle-shaped winged shrine that originally stood on top of a much larger altarpiece. The work of an anonymous painter who had an intimate knowledge of the oeuvres of Melchior Broederlam, Jean de Liège, and other

Fig. 115. Franco-Netherlandish, early 15th century. *Mocking of Christ*. Pen and black ink and grisaille on paper, 5½ × 8¼ in. (14 × 21 cm). Statens Museum for Kunst, Kobberstiksamling, Copenhagen (Inv. GB 1972)

Fig. 118. *Mocking of Christ*, fol. 132v (detail)

Fig. 116. Turret-shaped shrine with infancy scenes (detail); *Flight into Egypt*. Mosan or Southern Netherlands, ca. 1390–95. Tempera on oak panel, 54 × 18¾ in. (137 × 47.5 cm). Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (Inv. no. 2, detail)

Fig. 117. *Flight into Egypt*, fol. 63 (detail)

artists from the Lowlands working at the court in Dijon, the painted wings seem to have been executed in the last decade of the fourteenth century.[24] The lower panel of the interior of the outer proper left wing depicts a cropped view of the *Flight into Egypt* as though the viewer were glimpsing the scene through a too-narrow window (fig. 116). The Virgin, astride a donkey that turns its head in the direction of the viewer, completely averts her head, and only the head of the Child is visible emerging from the mass of folds of the Virgin's mantle. In an expanded treatment of the subject (fig. 117) the Limbourgs adopted this vignette with minor alterations, most notably allowing the viewer a glimpse of the Virgin's face. The precise replication of the descending tubular folds dropping below the underside of the donkey is an idiosyncratic detail that seems to confirm the direct relationship between the two works.[25] Although tradition holds that this shrine was originally in the Carthusian monastery of Champmol in Dijon, it is uncertain whether the Limbourgs actually saw the work or merely knew of it through drawings or model books.

The similarity of the figure of Saint John standing at the foot of the Cross in a missal illuminated by a Guelders artist about 1400 (the *Linen Weavers' Missal*) (fig. 119) and that of a figure in *Pilate Washes His Hands* in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 120) has been noted.[26] Both figures are voluminously draped, and both hold the left hand to the face in a curious gesture, but the similarity ends here, suggesting that both depend on a common source

Fig. 119. *Saint John at the Foot of the Cross. Linen Weavers' Missal.* Utrecht, ca. 1400. Tempera on parchment, 13¾ × 10⅝ in. (34.9 × 27 cm). Stadsbibliotheek, Haarlem (Ms. 184C2, fol. 149v, detail)

Fig. 120. *Pilate Washes His Hands,* fol. 138 (detail)

that both artists would have known, perhaps in the Maelwael workshop in Nijmegen, and developed quite differently.[27] That source almost certainly was a model book or a study sheet, not the original. In the *Linen Weavers' Missal* from Utrecht, the figure is essentially freestanding, but in the *Belles Heures* the Limbourgs have attempted, not very successfully, to integrate it into a complex composition. The result is spatial confusion, for the figure appears to stand in the extreme foreground yet his left arm somehow disappears behind the drapery of Pontius Pilate.

A comparable replication of specific motifs can be found in the incidental details of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the Buxtehude Altarpiece of about 1400 by the Bertram Master (Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. 501)[28] and the same subject in the *Belles Heures* (fol. 52, p. 121). In the right background of both, a ram rears up on its hind legs to reach the foliage of a tree, and directly in front toward the foreground two sheep sidle up to one another head by tail. There is a more general similarity in the slightly contorted stance of the shepherds. The similarity is again almost certainly due not to firsthand knowledge of the earlier panel painting but to the dissemination of designs primarily through copy drawings and model books. It is interesting to note that the underdrawing of the illumination in the *Belles Heures* has been altered considerably in these ancillary details, as though adjusting the models to better suit the composition to which they were adapted.

The Limbourg brothers apparently looked beyond Jean de Berry's manuscripts and found source material elsewhere in his holdings. The reverse of the medal of Heraclius, which is believed to preserve the composition of the gold medal the duke acquired in 1401, influenced, for example, the imagery of *Heraclius Enters Jerusalem,* the opening miniature of the Story of Heraclius and the True Cross in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 121, and fol. 156v, p. 189). The image of the emperor on horseback on the obverse of the Constantine medal, likewise, appears to be the compositional source of the king at the left in the *Meeting of the Magi* in the *Très Riches Heures* (figs. 122, 123).[29] Had more of the duke's medals, coins, cameos, *joyaux,* and sculptures survived, many more such instances could, no doubt, be identified.

The Limbourgs frequently returned to their own compositions, selecting a figure, a group, or some detail in stance or

Fig. 121. *Heraclius Restores the Cross to Jerusalem. Medal of Heraclius* (reverse). French, 1400–1402. Cast bronze, 3⅜ × 2½ in. (9.9 × 6.4 cm). Private collection, New York

Fig. 122. *Constantine Medal* (obverse). French (Paris), 1402–13 (model); 16th century (cast). Bronze, overall: 3⅝ × 2½ in. (9.2 × 6.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alain Mostti, 1988 (1988.133)

Fig. 123. Limbourg brothers. *Meeting of the Magi. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅞ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 51v)

Fig. 124. Limbourg brothers. *Death of Christ. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅞ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 153)

gesture and then developing, refining, and expanding it in an entirely different composition. We have already noted that the stance of Christ and the unusual detail of the Virgin attempting to lessen the weight of her Son's burden in the *Carrying of the Cross* in the *Bible moralisée* are reprised in the *Belles Heures* (see fig. 107). Likewise, the essential composition of the *Beheading of Saint Lucy* in the *Belles Heures* (fol. 179v, p. 213) with the rotated stance of the executioner, the kneeling saint with hair cascading over her forehead, and the rocky outcropping in the background is repeated in *Catherine Is Beheaded* (fol. 19v, p. 105), albeit in a more complex and dramatically charged composition.

Keen observation of the natural world brought a poignant descriptiveness to many of the Limbourgs' compositions. The gruesome detail with which they depicted the corpses of plague victims in the *End of the Plague* (fol. 74, p. 139) in the *Institution of the Great Litany* suggests firsthand knowledge of the horrors of bubonic plague. In the *Death of Christ* (fol. 145v, p. 181) the brothers created a gloom of nebulous gray light suggesting an unnatural source of light in the cometlike red and orange streak in the sky. But when they treated this subject again in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 124), they captured perfectly, as anyone who has experienced it will know, the eerie gray-green miasmic light of a full solar eclipse, which one or more of them must have witnessed in Paris on June 16, 1406.[30] This date may well establish a terminus ante quem for the miniature in the *Belles Heures*, which was executed early in the production.

Italian Models

Gustav Friedrich Waagen, an early scholarly admirer of the *Très Riches Heures* after its rediscovery in the mid-nineteenth century, was also the first author to note a distinctly Italianate quality in the manuscript, particularly in the small delicate heads that appear in many of the decorated initials (see fig. 125), and he went so far as to attribute these to an Italian painter.[31] Writing a

Fig. 125. Limbourg brothers. *Saint Michael over Mont Saint Michel. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 195)

generation later, Eugene Müntz argued that only the Calendar pages were by the Limbourg brothers and all the remaining early fifteenth-century illuminations were by an Italian artist.[32] To support this argument he proffered three examples that have been continually cited in the literature up to this day: the *Purification of the Virgin* (fig. 126), which closely relates to Taddeo Gaddi's fresco, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* in the Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence (fig. 127); the *Map of Rome* (fig. 128), which is clearly similar to the fresco of the same subject by Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (fig. 129); and the kneeling figure of Adam in the *Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man* (fig. 131) which appears to depend on the Pergamum sculpture of the *Kneeling Persian* (fig. 133), now in the Vatican Museum.[33] The theory that many of the early miniatures in the *Très Riches Heures* were the work of an Italian artist failed to gain any further adherents, but almost all succeeding scholars have acknowledged that the Limbourgs' rendering of landscape and space, particularly in the *Belles Heures*, reflects an awareness of trecento painting, notably the work of Giotto, and that advancements in this regard in the *Très Riches Heures* along with the above-mentioned quotations suggest that the brothers—or at least Paul—made one or perhaps two trips south of the Alps.[34]

Although there can be no doubt as to the general compositional dependence of the *Purification of the Virgin* in the *Très Riches Heures* on the Taddeo Gaddi fresco of the *Presentation of the Virgin* in Santa Croce, how the Limbourg brothers knew the composition has been a matter of considerable discussion. It is, however, immediately noticeable that the compositions are quite different, and, indeed, the Limbourg brothers have changed the very subject. The figure on the first flight of steps turned toward the viewer is the Virgin herself in the fresco, but in the manuscript, she is the handmaiden with the doves and taper, while the Virgin holding the Child stands below on the pavement. The remaining figures are much changed: only the child clumsily struggling up the first riser and the high priest bear much relationship to the fresco. The Temple and flights of stairs generally follow the presumed model, but the lateral arcade has been walled in, fenestrations added, and the fifteen steps have been reduced to fourteen. The remaining architectural elements bear no relationship to those in the wall painting. Furthermore, the miniature brings the Temple forward and suffuses the scene with a clear unmodulated light. The recession of architectural forms in the fresco is heightened by the atmospheric modulation of light that darkens with distance, and, indeed, this is one of the most impressive aspects of the fresco. The fact that the Limbourgs have walled in the arcade thus negating this striking effect strongly suggests that they did not know the fresco on a firsthand basis. In effect the Limbourg brothers have simply co-opted an elaborate architectural setting, which could have been easily conveyed to them by a drawing after the fresco. Such a drawing is found in the Louvre, although it is unlikely to have served as the model, for it was in an Italian collection until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[35] One similar to it, however, would have provided the Limbourg brothers with the architectural model without conveying the treatment of light. There are, in fact, numerous and widely dispersed copies, versions, and replicas of this famous frescoed composition, all of which necessitate the existence of drawings as a means of transmission.[36]

Although Millard Meiss never seriously questioned whether the Limbourg brothers traveled to Italy,[37] in the case of the *Map of Rome* in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 128), he disproved any need for such a trip by publishing a very similar map attributed to the Orosius Master and found in a Paris manuscript of the *Catilinarius* by Sallust (fig. 130).[38] All three versions are quite different in detail, and like the Taddeo Gaddi fresco, a number of variant copies must have been in circulation. The Siena fresco, in the manner of Italian maps of the period, places the ancient city in a dark blue void, while both Northern versions place it within a rudimentary landscape with a green outlying countryside and indications of hills and mountains set against a brilliant blue sky. In the Limbourg brothers' version, the buildings are more attenuated—the

Fig. 126. Limbourg brothers. *Purification of the Virgin. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 54v)

Fig. 127. Taddeo Gaddi (Italian, 1300–1366). *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1328–30. Fresco. Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence

Fig. 128. Limbourg brothers. *Map of Rome. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 141v)

Fig. 129. Taddeo di Bartolo (Italian, 1362–1422). *Map of Rome*, 1413–14. Fresco. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

Fig. 130. Orsinus Master. *Map of Rome*. Manuscript of the *Catilinarius* by Sallust. Paris, ca. 1428. Ink and tempera on parchment, page: 12⅝ × 9 in. (32 × 23 cm); map: 5⅝ × 5⅝ in. (14.7 × 13.8 cm). Private collection

Fig. 132. Limbourg brothers. *Temptation of Adam. Bible moralisée*, ca. 1402–4. Ink and tempera on vellum, 16⅜ × 11⅝ in. (41.5 × 29 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 166, fol. 3v, detail)

Fig. 131. Limbourg brothers. *Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 25v)

Fig. 133. *Kneeling Persian*. Roman copy of a Greek statue. Marble, H. 28¾ in. (73 cm). Vatican Museums (Inv. 2794)

Colosseum, for example, is depicted with four full stories as opposed to three in the other two examples, whereas the Castel Sant'Angelo is markedly narrower and taller—and are more liberally spaced. In this regard the Orosius Master is closer to the Siena version. While the Orosius Master's map was executed in Paris about 1418 or shortly after the death of the Limbourg brothers, it would seem that either it relied on a version slightly different from that used by the Limbourg brothers or it was based on a common source interpreted somewhat differently by the Limbourg brothers. In either case, a model must have been available in Paris where the Orosius Master was based. The Limbourg brothers' version misunderstands the monument known as the Sepulchrum Romuli, for example, showing it as a flat triangle against the city wall, while the Orosius Master correctly conveys its pyramidal form. The Orosius Master likewise depicted the statue of a colossal nude figure near the Colosseum, whereas this detail is wanting in both the Siena fresco and in the *Très Riches Heures*. Similarly the fresco represents the Trevi Fountain below the sculpture of the Dioscuri, whereas this feature is less clearly depicted by the Orosius Master and not at all by the Limbourg brothers.[39] In any event, we know that the Limbourg brothers were working on the *Très Riches Heures* until at least 1414, traveled to Nijmegen in 1415, and died in 1416. As Taddeo di Bartolo painted his map of Rome in 1413–14, this would have left little time for the brothers to travel south of the Alps.[40]

In the case of the kneeling Adam in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 131) we know that more than one sculptural version existed of the *Kneeling Persian*, a Roman marble after the second-century Greek original, on which it may well have been based, although these versions would have been unknown to the Limbourg brothers. It is, however, reasonable to assume that drawings of this well-known sculpture were likewise in circulation and that the model was known to them early on, as the motif first appears in the Temptation scene in the *Bible moralisée* (fig. 132) and therefore could well date to 1402. A decade or more later it was reprised to far better effect in the *Très Riches Heures*. A drawing or even a three-dimensional version of the antique sculpture was the likely source, as the brothers were, in the interval between May 1400, when they were ransomed, and 1402, when they were commissioned by Philip the Bold, quite young and unestablished. Even Meiss does not suggest that they were in a position to undertake an extensive trip through Italy studying art at this time.

Italian Sources

Although there is no incontrovertible evidence that the Limbourg brothers never traveled to Italy, it is a near certainty that the duke of Berry never stepped on Italian soil.[41] The duke's cisalpine contacts, however, were not impeded, as we know he maintained constant communication with Italian agents, merchants, and dealers who purveyed gems, antiquities, textiles, and myriad works of art. If the duke could not otherwise obtain the objects he wished, he imported the artists: a document confirms, for example, that the duke brought in an unknown Sienese wood-carver or sculptor recommended to him by Pierre Salmon in January 1408.[42] Paintings, manuscripts, and other works of art were undoubtedly imported, and the Limbourg brothers certainly would have been aware of many of those that came into the circle of the Valois princes.

The Limbourg brothers' first patron, Philip the Bold of Burgundy, is known to have visited the court of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in Milan in 1391. Although there is no record of what he may have brought back with him, small-scale Italian paintings most assuredly made their way into France, and those works that ended up in the courts of their patrons were more than likely known to the Limbourg brothers. A small polyptych painted by Simone Martini of Siena for a member of the Orsini family,[43] for example, is thought to have been at the Carthusian monastery of Champmol in Dijon by about 1400.[44] Theoretically the panels could have been seen by the Limbourg brothers when they were in the employ of the duke from 1402 until 1404, and to judge from the *Deposition* in the *Très Belles Heures of Jean de France* (*Brussels Hours*) (fig. 134), Jacquemart de Hesdin, to whom the Passion scenes in this manuscript are generally attributed, knew the panels as well.[45] Jacquemart's general arrangement of the figure with a scarf over his head and his arms around the torso of Christ, the positioning of the figure of Christ, and the figure of the Virgin desperately reaching up toward her dead Son all reflect an intimate awareness of Simone Martini's composition (fig. 135). The Limbourg brothers in their rendering of this subject in the *Belles Heures*, on the other hand, appear to have been influenced primarily by Jacquemart's illumination, which they would have known, as the manuscript was commissioned by the duke of Berry and was inventoried in his library in 1403, rather than by the Sienese composition by Simone Martini, as has been argued.[46] The influence is particularly evident in the attitude of the Virgin's head and her proximity to the body of Christ (fig. 136). The striking figure on the ladder at the right in the *Belles Heures* with the partially averted face and one hand clutching the arm of the Cross and the other encircling the torso of Christ is reprised in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 137) and bears no relation to Simone Martini. In the *Très Riches Heures* illumination, however, the arrangement of the figures at the left, above and below Christ, and the positioning of Christ's body echo the composition in the panel painting. The Virgin in the *Très Riches Heures*, however, stoically standing with her hands clasped around her stomach, has nothing to do with her emotionally wrenched counterpart in the panel, but rather appears to be a direct quotation of the analogous figure in the fresco of Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, Florence (fig. 138).

This episodic rather than synoptic reference to Italian works is frequently encountered in the compositions of the Limbourg

Fig. 134. Attributed to Jacquemart de Hesdin (French, fl. 1380–1411). *Deposition*. *Très Belles Heures of Jean de France* (*Brussels Hours*), before 1402. Ink and tempera on parchment, 10⅞ × 7¼ in. (27.5 × 18.5 cm). Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels (Ms. 11060-11061, p. 194).

Fig. 135. Simone Martini (Italian, ca. 1280/85–1344). *Deposition*. Orsini Polyptych. Second quarter of the 14th century. Panel, 11¾ × 8 in. (29.7 × 20.4 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (Inv. 260)

brothers. In the *Entombment* of the *Belles Heures* (fig. 139), for example, one is struck by the mourning female standing behind the tomb whose severely foreshortened head faces the heavens as she rends her blond tresses. This arresting figure with her broad, rounded, fleshy face, and her impassioned hair-tearing—quite unprecedented in the work of the Limbourg brothers—appears to be a direct quotation of the analogous figure in the Entombment panel from the Orsini polyptych by Simone Martini, now in Berlin (fig. 140), the composition of which otherwise has little bearing on that in the *Belles Heures*. Another panel in the Louvre, representing the Fall of the Rebel Angels by a follower of Simone Martini (fig. 141), is now thought to have been commissioned by the French cardinal Aymery de Châtelus, of San Martino ai Monti in Rome, thus explaining the prominence of the Saint Martin on the back of the panel and perhaps its presence in France as well.[47] A rare subject, there is little question that the Limbourg brothers' treatment of the same theme in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 142) was informed by the Sienese panel. Elsewhere in the manuscript, the depictions of God the Father and the Twenty-Four Elders are quoted with some precision in *Saint John on Patmos*, and a close facsimile of the central battling angel appears as Saint Michael

Fig. 136. *Deposition*, fol. 149 (detail)

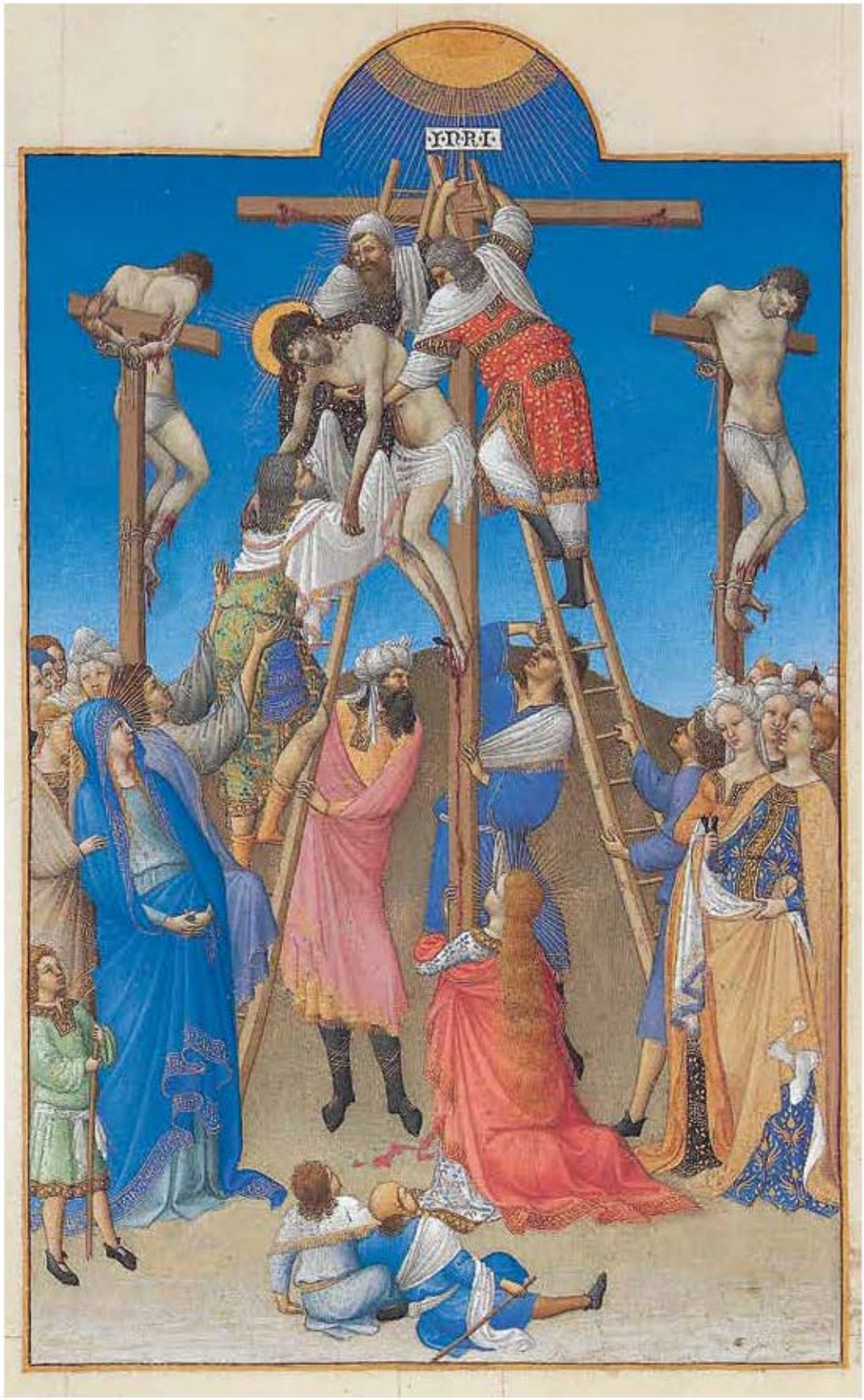


Fig. 137. Limbourg brothers. *Deposition. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 156v)

Fig. 138. Andrea da Firenze (Italian, fl. 1346–possibly d. after May 16, 1379). Virgin in the Crucifixion scene, ca. 1365–67. Fresco. Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (detail)

Fig. 139. *Entombment*, fol. 152 (detail)

Fig. 140. Simone Martini (Italian, ca. 1280/85–1344). *Entombment*. Orsini Polyptych, second quarter of the 14th century. Panel, 8¾ × 5⅞ in. (22 × 15 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Inv. 1070A, detail)

combating the rebel angels in *Mont Saint Michel* (see fig. 125). And finally—although many more could be cited—the curious circular tempietto that serves to house the Holy Sepulchre that Jerome contemplates in the cycle dedicated to that saint in the *Belles Heures* (see illustration, p. 279) appears to depend on the analogous structure in the *Baptism of Hermogenes* from the fresco cycle by Jacopo Avanzi in the Chapel of Saint Felice, Saint James, in the Santo, Padua (fig. 143), particularly the slender columns and the form of the capitals.

Model Books

Model and pattern books, compendia of vignettes and motifs, and copies of compositions by other artists were all commonly employed—indeed, highly valued—by individual artists and by workshops, and replications of these countless recordings and studies proliferated. As such drawings were not considered works of art in their own right, and as compendia of such studies eventually became stylistically obsolete only to be discarded, few examples have come down to us. But this should not lead one to underestimate their widespread importance. In the conventional medieval model book specific motifs—a figure, head, pose, drapery fold, animal, or object—taken out of their compositional and iconographical context were recorded typically in pen and ink with clear outline and little or no modeling of forms. They were aggregated on a page without common orientation, but for reasons of legibility, rarely if ever overlapping.[48] By about 1400, however, the nature of these model books had begun to change.[49] The rendering of forms became more dimensional through hatching or toning, and figures and heads conventionally portrayed frontally or in strict profile were more commonly shown in different degrees

Fig. 141. Follower of Simone Martini ("Master of the Rebel Angels"). *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, ca. 1340–45. Panel, transferred to canvas, 22⅞ × 10¼ in. (58 × 26 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (DI. 1967-1-9)

Fig. 142. Limbourg brothers. *Fall of Rebel Angels with God and the Heavenly Host. Très Riches Heures*, 1412/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅓ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 64v)

Fig. 143. Jacopo Avanzi (Italian, fl. 1363–84). *Baptism of Hermogenes*, ca. 1377–79. Fresco. Chapel of Saint Felice, Saint James, Santo, Padua

Fig. 144. Barthélemy d'Eyck (active ca. 1440–ca. 1469). *December*. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16 (over an underdrawing by the Limbourg brothers). Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 12v, detail)

Fig. 145. Giovannino de' Grassi (Milanese, d. 1398) and others. *Hunting Scene*, ca. 1380–1400. *Model Book of Giovannino de' Grassi*. Parchment, 10⅛ × 6⅞ in. (26 × 17.5 cm). Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo (Cassf., 1.22, fol. 17)

Fig. 146. *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Missal. Lombard, ca. 1380. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. lat. 757, fol. 296v)

Fig. 147. Giovannino de' Grassi (Milanese, d. 1398) and others. *Dogs and Stag*, ca. 1380–1400. *Model Book of Giovannino de' Grassi*. Parchment, 10¼ × 6¾ in. (26 × 17.5 cm). Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo (Cassaf, 1.22, fol. 25)

Fig. 148. Unknown northern Italian artist. Last quarter of the 14th century. Drawing. Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Inv. no. K IX 22)

of rotations and often foreshortened. Motifs were rendered in greater detail and variety, and executed with increased delicacy in silverpoint and fine brushwork, as exemplified by the late fourteenth-century model book attributed to the circle of Jacquemart de Hesdin now in the Morgan Library and Museum.[50] It was no doubt from a comparable model book of Netherlandish origin that the Limbourgs encountered in a decontextualized form the figure that they attempted with limited success to integrate into their composition of *Pilate Washes His Hands* (see figs. 119, 120). And as we also have seen, numerous motifs drawn mostly from Italian wall paintings likewise were known to the Limbourg brothers through—to judge from their episodic nature—model books or other such compendia of drawings, studies, and sketches.

The only vignette integrated into a composition by the Limbourg brothers that can be linked to a specific surviving model book is the hounds attacking a boar—the so-called *halali du sanglier*—in the *December* page in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 144), which was drawn by the Limbourg brothers, but painted about 1440 by Barthélemy d'Eyck, an artist in the service of René d'Anjou, king of Naples and duke of Anjou.[51] The composition follows quite precisely its source in the so-called *Model Book of Giovannino de' Grassi* of about 1380–1400, now in Bergamo (fig. 145), with the exception of two additional hounds: only the head of one can be seen near the head of the boar, while the other more prominent one has seized in his jaws the left rear leg of the downed animal.[52] Numerous creatures in the Bergamo model book appear elsewhere: the hound at the underside of the boar is found in a mirror image in a miniature of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (fig. 146); a seated dog on fol. 15 (fig. 147) is reprised in mirror image on a sheet in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (fig. 148); and numerous others appear in single sheets and in manuscripts including the *Visconti Hours*.[53] All of these examples are of Lombardic origin, indicating that the designs were locally well circulated. Only the hounds and boar depict more than one animal in a joint activity and the *Très Riches Heures* is the only instance of one of the Bergamo designs appearing in a work not of Lombardic origin. It is likely that both versions of the composition depend on a common model, probably a wall painting,[54] and it is tempting to think that drawings of this and other Lombard compositions were brought back by the duke of Burgundy and his entourage from his 1391 trip to Milan.

Direct contact between the Limbourg brothers and another surviving model book can be adduced from a group of twenty-two drawings in silverpoint on small boxwood panels known collectively as the sketchbook of "Jacques Daliwe," as this name, which is inscribed on the first drawing, has customarily been identified as that of the artist.[55] About half of these are finely executed studies of heads or bust-length figures of highly individualized types and, with a few exceptions, are not iconographically recognizable (fig. 149). The remaining are more or less complete scenes or aggregations of vignettes, often quite sketchlike and generally less finished. Two of these—a Visitation and a Flagellation—are compositionally close to the corresponding scenes in the *Belles Heures*. In the case of the *Flagellation* (see figs. 150, 105) the positioning of Christ and the disposition of the surrounding figures differ, but particular details, such as the tunic of the figure at the left and the somewhat awkward positioning of the arm, raised overhead, are remarkably similar. The individual characterization of the heads

Fig. 149. "Jacques Daliwe" (Franco-Flemish, fl. ca. 1380–1416). Sketchbook with bust-length figures, ca. 1400–1420. Boxwood with drawings, 3½ × 5⅛ in. (8.8 × 13 cm). Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Liber Picturatus (A 74, fol. IX a)

Fig. 150. "Jacques Daliwe" (Franco-Flemish, fl. ca. 1380–1416). *Flagellation*. Sketchbook with bust-length figures, ca. 1400–1420. Boxwood with drawings, 3½ × 5⅛ in. (8.8 × 13 cm). Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Liber Picturatus (A 74, fol. II a).

and the precision of drawing have led most scholars to give the model book to an artist from the South Netherlands, and similarities between some of the female heads and portrait painting of the early fifteenth century have led to the conclusion that this artist was active in the French courts.[56] Clearly there had been some stylistic contact between the Limbourg brothers and the master of this model or study book, whether in person or through a common or intermediary source. The unfinished quality of the model book *Flagellation*, in which the placement of figures suggests a preliminary study rather than a recording of a resolved composition, has led one author to posit that the Limbourg brothers' more rationalized composition followed the model book rather than the other way around, as usually presumed.[57] In any event, the obvious similarities underscore the pervasive role of model books and compendia of studies, drawings, and other visual recordings in the working method of early fifteenth-century artists in general and of the Limbourg brothers in particular.

The reliance on model or motif books rather than on firsthand study of Italian wall painting is further underscored by what is not referenced in the work of the Limbourg brothers. If, for example, one or more of the brothers actually went to the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, is it conceivable that they would return with a study sketch of the rather undistinguished *Map of Rome*, but not a trace of the great frescoes of Simone Martini or Ambrogio Lorenzetti?[58] Travel in this period was by no means uncommon. We have already seen that as youths the Limbourg brothers traveled from their native Nijmegen to Paris and back and then to work for the duke of Burgundy in either Paris or Dijon. Travel for apprenticeship, education, and work was unexceptional, as was travel for pilgrimage or in the service of one's master. Even though the precise circumstances are not fully evident, we know that Simone Martini, perhaps as a member of a cardinal's household, worked in Avignon.[59] Traveling to study works of art even in conjunction with another mission was quite uncommon, however, and such journeys were not recorded until the time of Albrecht Dürer at the end of the fifteenth century.[60] As there *is* no evidence that any of the Limbourg brothers traveled to Italy, and as the Italianate elements in their compositions could have been conveyed through manuscripts, portable altars, panel paintings, and model or motif books, it remains to be asked if anything in their work reflects Italianate influence that necessitated a direct encounter with works of art south of the Alps.

The Hours of the Virgin, one of the earlier cycles in the *Belles Heures*, is clearly rooted in the art of the early trecento, particularly the frescoes of Giotto. There are, for example, formal parallels between the *Visitation* in the *Belles Heures* (see fig. 151) and the corresponding scene in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (fig. 152). Most pronounced are the bent figure of a stolidly portrayed Saint Elizabeth and the tall but slender arched doorway leading into an obscured interior before which the two women greet each other. The parallels are more striking in a comparison of the two versions of the *Flight into Egypt* (see fol. 63, p. 129 and fig. 153). In both instances, the Virgin holding the Child sits astride the donkey placed parallel to the picture plane and nearly fills the width of the composition. Joseph looks back to his wards as a single airborne angel indicates the direction of safety. The landscape in both compositions is divided into three compressed zones: a narrow strip of dirt roadway, a middle ground composed of a more or less triangular rugged and mostly barren mountainous form, the height of which tapers off in the direction of travel. The deep blue sky in the Scrovegni fresco drops behind the middle zone, with little or no modulation, like a luminous hanging. But what the

Fig. 151. *Visitation*, fol. 42v (detail)

Fig. 152. Giotto (Italian, Florentine, 1266/76–1337). *Visitation*, 1303–5. Fresco. Scrovegni Chapel, Padua

Limbourg brothers have taken from Giotto is the monumental treatment of the human form. The Virgin both centers and dominates the image, and her considerable form is fully draped in simplified schematic folds that reveal the underlying mass, but little of its anatomical detail. The landscape is reduced to a backdrop that in mass and form both balances and echoes the foreground group. The figures—smaller in number and more animated in the *Belles Heures*—dominate the scene and, indeed, seem outsized relative to the topographical forms behind them. In the absence of spatial recession or atmospheric modulation the compositions appear layered. And the scenes are suffused with a light without apparent sources that bathes the monumental forms with a softness that accentuates the sculptural forms like garden statuary on a hazy day. What the Limbourg brothers have derived from Giotto is not the details of a composition, but the very concept of one. Giotto's frescoes thus influenced the compositions of these illuminations in the *Belles Heures* in the same manner that those of the Parement Master in the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* had in other scenes in the Hours of the Virgin. Although there is no evidence, one way or the other, of travel to Padua, it would seem reasonable that this understanding of Giotto could have been transmitted by portable works of the master or his followers, by manuscript painting, or by copies amplified by verbal description.

Fig. 153. Giotto (Italian, Florentine, 1266/76–1337). *Flight into Egypt*, 1303–5. Fresco. Scrovegni Chapel, Padua

1. Roelofs 2005, pp. 35–36.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. Ibid., pp. 36–37.
4. Ibid., p. 37.
5. See Nijsten 2004, pp. 260–61.
6. Ibid., pp. 120–24, 179–91. See also Roelofs 2005, pp. 38–40. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Ms. 15652-6. For a monographic study, see Van Anrooij 1990, esp. pp. 78–94 for the contents and dating.
7. The attribution was first made by Margaret Rickert (1952, p. 98), and more recently by Wim van Anrooij (1990, pp. 84–85). See also Roelofs 2005, pp. 38–40.
8. Niessen, Roelofs, and Van Veen-Liefrink 2005, p. 14.
9. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
10. Johan, also known as Jean Malowel, is not to be confused with his uncle Johannes, the brother of Willem and Herman, who was a rector in Nijmegen.
11. Roelofs 2005, p. 36.
12. Van Buren 1996, p. 290.
13. Van Anrooij 1990, pp. 91–93.
14. See Van Buren 1996, p. 294, figs. 41, 42, for images of the underdrawings in R.F. 2023v. The suggestion had been made earlier by Friedrich Gorissen (1954, pp. 163ff., 188, docs. 8–39).
15. See note 40 below.
16. See Avril 1972. See also Lowden 2000, vol. 1, pp. 242–50.
17. The later illuminations are compositionally more advanced than the earlier ones, suggesting a linear development. Meiss 1974, pp. 89–96, held that Paul was primarily responsible for the superior painting of the third quire, whereas the first two were an uneven collaboration with Jean.
18. Jeanne d'Évreux (d. 1371) was married to Charles IV of France (r. 1322–28), and it is presumed that this tiny Book of Hours with grisaille illuminations by Jean Pucelle was a gift from the king to his queen presented sometime between their marriage in 1324 and his death in 1328. As the king died without male issue, the throne passed to his first cousin Philippe VI (1293–1350). Jeanne d'Évreux bequeathed the manuscript to Charles V, grandson of Philippe VI, who, in turn, bequeathed it to his son Charles VI. By 1401 the manuscript had passed into the hands of the youthful king's uncle Jean de France, duc de Berry.
19. See Van Buren 1996, p. 290.
20. For the attribution, see Meiss 1974, pp. 100–101, and Paris 2004a, p. 294, no. 183.
21. See Dijon–Cleveland 2004, pp. 194–97, nos. 68, 69, 70.
22. See Nijmegen 2005, pp. 412–13, no. 122.
23. Dückers 2005a, esp. pp. 65–72.
24. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. no. 2. See Dijon–Cleveland 2004, pp. 204–5, no. 73.
25. See Dückers (2005a, p. 71), who also notes connections with the *Très Riches Heures*.
26. Boon 1977 and Dückers 2005a, pp. 68–69.
27. This is postulated by Boon 1977, pp. 37–39.
28. See Nijmegen 2005, p. 69, fig. 5.
29. See Colenbrander 1995, p. 174. Wixom believes that the medals were designed by a contemporary artist working for the duke, perhaps Michelet Saulmon. See Wixom in New York 1999, p. 168, no. 204, and Wixom 2003, p. 15.
30. See Stirnemann 2005, p. 119.
31. Waagen 1857, pp. 249–59.
32. Müntz 1885, p. 172.
33. The observation was first made by Duhn 1885, pp. 1–7. It has been noted that another version of the sculpture is in Aix-en-Provence, but this is unlikely to have been the model, as it is incomplete and was unknown until 1514. See Meiss 1974, p. 229, and Cazelles 1984, p. 81.
34. Durrieu 1904, pp. 93–97, admits the possibility of an Italian trip but is not convinced. Durrieu 1906, p. 273, is still skeptical of an Italian trip but does point to a number of specific comparisons such as *Flight into Egypt* in the *Belles Heures* and the corresponding compositions of Taddeo Gaddi in the Lower Church of the Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi and of Giotto in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua. Durrieu (1922, p. 74) departs from his earlier position that the brothers worked from Italian models in France and entertains the possibility that Paul made a trip over the Alps. As the title indicates—"Paul de Limbourg in Florence"—Winkler 1930 did not doubt that Paul had traveled to Italy, and this position is stated as emphatically by Pächt 1950, pp. 41–42. Porcher 1953 admits the possibility that the Limbourgs could have traveled to Italy but is more inclined to believe that sufficient sources were available in France, a point of view he reiterates in 1960, p. 64. Panofsky 1964, pp. 63–64, concludes that at least one of the brothers must have visited Florence. Meiss 1974, on the other hand, seems to have little doubt that all the brothers traveled to Italy at least once and Paul may have made several trips. In a review of Meiss's volume, Avril 1975, pp. 43–44, considers the possibility but is clearly not convinced and agrees with Meiss that the *Map of Rome* is not based directly on Taddeo di Bartolo's image in Siena.
35. See Nijmegen 2005, p. 180, fig. 3.
36. See Schmidt 1999, p. 29. For a list of the various replicas and versions, see Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, pp. 60–65.
37. Meiss 1974, pp. 90, 101, 240–42, asserts that two or more of the brothers traveled to Italy "not once but twice" (p. 249) and that these trips occurred in 1404–5 and about 1410–11 (p. 245).
38. Ibid., pp. 209–14; illustrated vol. 2, no. 4.
39. See ibid., pp. 209–12. The map was apparently never entirely finished by the Limbourg brothers, as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was left as a blank silhouette. The blank rectangle where the Dioscuri and Trevi Fountain should be may indicate that the brothers had difficulty in interpreting the model.
40. Schmidt 2005, p. 180.
41. Ibid., p. 179.
42. Champeaux 1888; Schmidt 2005, p. 179.
43. The polyptych is divided between Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; Paris, Musée du Louvre; and Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.
44. Boskovits 1988, p. 158; Schmidt 2005, p. 185.
45. Meiss 1967, pp. 215–18.
46. Schmidt 2005, p. 185.
47. Mognetti and Lonjon 1994; Schmidt 2005, p. 185.
48. For an extended discussion of medieval model books and a catalogue of the surviving examples, see Scheller 1995.
49. See Jenni in Cologne 1978, vol. 3, pp. 139–41; Jenni 1987; and Scheller 1995, pp. 54–58.
50. See Scheller 1995, pp. 218–25, no. 19.
51. See Paris 2004b, pp. 133–35, and Schmidt 2005, p. 181.
52. The book consists of four quires of varied size that were bound at an early date. The miscellany contains drawings by Giovannino de' Grassi and others by lesser hands, including that of the boar and hounds under discussion here. See Meiss 1974, pp. 214–16; Jenni in Cologne 1978, vol. 3, p. 145; Scheller 1995, pp. 276–91, no. 26; and Schmidt 2005, pp. 181–82.

53. Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Ms. Landau Finaly 22. See Scheller 1995, pp. 279–80.
54. See Scheller 1995, p. 283, and Schmidt 2005, pp. 181–82.
55. There is no documentary or other source material to confirm the existence of an artist by this name.
56. Scheller 1995, pp. 235–37. Stylistic affinities with Netherlanders working in the French courts led Kreuter-Eggemann (1964, vol. 1, p. 67) to identify "Jacques Daliwe" with the Holy Spirit Master, a suggestion that Meiss (1967, p. 400 n. 41), among others, has rejected.
57. Frinta 1970, p. 100.
58. This telling question has been posed by Schmidt 1999, p. 32.
59. Martindale 1988, p. 46.
60. Schmidt 1999, pp. 33–35.

The Artistic Achievements of the Limbourg Brothers

Constructs of Space

One of the most striking characteristics of the narrative compositions in the *Belles Heures* is the varied means by which the Limbourg brothers constructed pictorial space, whether in an architectural context or a landscape. Some architectural settings could be relatively developed, rational volumes, reflecting a compatible human scale and a convincing, if not entirely accurate or scientifically constructed, recessive space. In others no attempt is made to create a verisimilar architectural surrounding, rather a whole structure is merely suggested by a diminutive form that bears no rational relationship to the figures required to interact with it. *Saint Catherine in Her Study* (fig. 154) is an example of the former, and *Saint Catherine Cast into Prison* (fig. 155), an example of the latter. A similar circumstance exists for landscapes. In some compositions the foreground is a mere strip of limited spatial depth merging imperceptibly with the middle ground defined by flat rugged outlines of abstracted topography with no background beyond, reflecting the trecento model. In others, a deeper space is suggested by overlapping forms, diminishing in scale as they recede to an elevated horizon seen from a heightened viewpoint in a more contemporary manner. Surprisingly, the Limbourg brothers did not produce innovative means of constructing space, and we must conclude that the representation of convincing space remained a secondary issue throughout their careers. In fact, the use of an "archaic" spatial construction, and a more or less "modern" one in the same series would have appeared perfectly normal at the time. The Limbourg brothers chose different means of rendering space for quite different purposes, relying on several established, or conventional approaches.

Fol. 191v (detail)

In *Saint Catherine in Her Study*, the saint is seated in a cathedra-like chair before a lectern supporting a book that she studies, but the viewer cannot see. The tracery windows, blind dadoes, vaults, and deeply recessive apselike space suggest the interior of a church or private chapel, but closer inspection disabuses the viewer of that notion, for the altar supports not the conventional liturgical objects, but a statue of Moses holding the tablets of the Law. His second appearance atop a large and laden book stand that compositionally counterbalances the seated Catherine equates her with the Law, the written Word that is the basis of faith and knowledge. Represented, then, is not a specific place of worship, but rather a sanctuary for spiritual thought and scholarly contemplation. In *Saint Catherine Cast into Prison*, on the other hand, the Limbourg brothers were illustrating a specific historical occurrence, indicated with the necessary visual ciphers, that is, a representation of the structure in which she was imprisoned. A moment in time is frozen, and the viewer witnesses it just as Maxentius and his henchmen do. The Limbourg brothers thus distinguished passive scenes from active, spiritual from physical, by the depiction of space.

Frequently, the Limbourgs constructed settings so reduced in form and detail as to serve as the barest of stages for the central figural imagery. A landscape consists of no more than a greensward slightly modulated in tonality from foreground to midground, whereas the sky is rendered as a tessellated backdrop eliminating any spatial recession to the background (see fol. 74v, p. 140). When pinnacled middle-ground hillocks are introduced, they serve more as compositional counterweights or as an echo of an apposing contour than as defining landscape features (see fol. 211v, p. 255). In fact, the distinction between interior and exterior spaces is frequently obfuscated by interior furnishings paradoxically set in a greensward (see fol. 124, p. 171). These stagelike settings are widely used throughout the *Belles Heures* and allow the viewer to focus on the event depicted, to witness it, and contemplate its significance without any other visual distraction. Excepting the first and the last, all the images of the Saint Catherine cycle employed such reduced settings, and the two-dimensional aspect of these landscapes—if that is what they can be called—compresses the space while emphasizing the monumentality of the figures. Catherine stands among them as a beacon of intellectual attainment and spiritual calm amid the physical degradations she and others associated with her must suffer. These spatial constructions drew on established compositional traditions dating to the late

Fig. 154. *Saint Catherine in Her Study*, fol. 15 (detail)

Fig. 155. *Saint Catherine Cast into Prison*, fol. 16v (detail)

Fig. 156. *Story of Emperor Heraclius*, *Roman de Godfrot de Bouillon*, 1337. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ms. fr. 22495, fol. 9)

thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and are as surprising to the modern viewer for their "old-fashioned" nature as for the frequency of their appearance (see, for example, fig. 156).

Elsewhere, naturalistic detail in the landscape was introduced by the Limbourg brothers to reinforce the central imagery, thus providing an aura of authenticity to the scene. In the *Flight into Egypt*, for example, the landscape is expanded to comprise a strip of foreground—here a sandy road that records the imprints of Joseph's feet and the donkey's hooves, an observation that lends immediacy to the depiction of a historical event (fig. 157). The middle ground consists of a rugged landscape with clefts and jagged outcroppings, all rendered in saturated hues of green tinged with yellow and brown, the outline of which defines the relatively high horizon. Beyond is a backdrop of deep blue sky, naturalistically modulated in lighter tones near the horizon. Although the decorative tessellated backdrop has been dispensed with, no effort has been made to suggest recessive space between the middle-ground and background. The distinction between the foreground and the higher relief of the rather artificial-appearing middle ground in combination with the sculptural modeling of the figures suffused with a warm, sourceless light, brings greater depth to the foreground figures and the space they inhabit.

Fig. 157. *Flight into Egypt*, fol. 63 (detail)

Fig. 158. *The Soldiers at the Tomb*, fol. 152v (detail)

As discussed in the previous chapter, here the Limbourg brothers have relied on compositions of central and northern Italian artists, particularly Giotto and his followers. Giotto's treatment of the same subject in the nave of the Scrovegni Chapel at Padua, most likely transmitted through intermediate sources, provided the conceptual source for the Limbourg brothers (see fig. 153). Giotto's landscape with its preternatural topographical formations and out-of-scale trees was not intended as mimesis, but rather as a purposeful construct that serves as a stage setting. The addition of the foreground strip creates a recessive space that allows for a more volumetric treatment of the figures, achieved through the use of a suffused light, shadows, and modeling of forms. The figures are all placed at the front of the stage, their varying scale suggesting their relative importance. In the mold of the trecento artists, the Limbourg brothers often relegated landscape subservient to the "histories," thus creating stagelike settings with the foreground dominated by the protagonists.

The Limbourg brothers' treatment of the subject contrasts strikingly with the *Flight into Egypt* by their most gifted contemporary, the Boucicaut Master, in his masterpiece the *Hours of the Maréchal Boucicaut*, made for Jean II le Meingre, the marshal of France under Charles VI, and completed about 1408, just

Fig. 159. Boucicaut Master (French, active ca. 1400–1430). *Flight into Egypt*. *Hours of the Maréchal Boucicaut*, ca. 1408. Tempera on parchment, 10¾ × 7½ in. (27.4 × 19 cm). Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris Ms. 2, fol. 90v)

as the Limbourgs were finishing the *Belles Heures* (see fig. 159).[2] The Boucicaut Master takes a slightly elevated point of view and also raises the horizon, which extends the landscape, minimizing overlapping contours and allowing the eye to move uninterruptedly from the foreground to the distant horizon. Progressive diminution of scale, naturalistic representations of topographical features and human activities, and a pervasive atmospheric light unify the composition anchored both by the central foreground figures and the radiant golden-orange disk of the sun as it sinks below the horizon in this exceptional illumination for Vespers.

The Limbourg brothers never created an expansive landscape of the sort initiated in the North by the Boucicaut Master, although they certainly approached it in the Calendar pages of the *Très Riches Heures*. The process began in the *Belles Heures* as they elaborated the stagelike settings into more convincing landscapes by lifting the spectator's viewpoint and by overlaying numerous topographical features in a more complex fashion, while progressively diminishing scale and bleaching out the tonalities toward the horizon, providing a greater illusion of recessive space. The *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 52, p. 121), *Agony in the Garden* (fol. 123, p. 169), the *Soldiers at the Tomb* (fig. 158), and *Saint Eustace Loses His Sons* (fol. 164v, p. 198) are examples of more developed landscapes. The drawback of this method of constructing space is that the precipitous topographical features of the middle ground block the view of all that lies behind, making the insertion of further narrative detail, other than the occasional incidental vignette beyond the near ground, impossible.

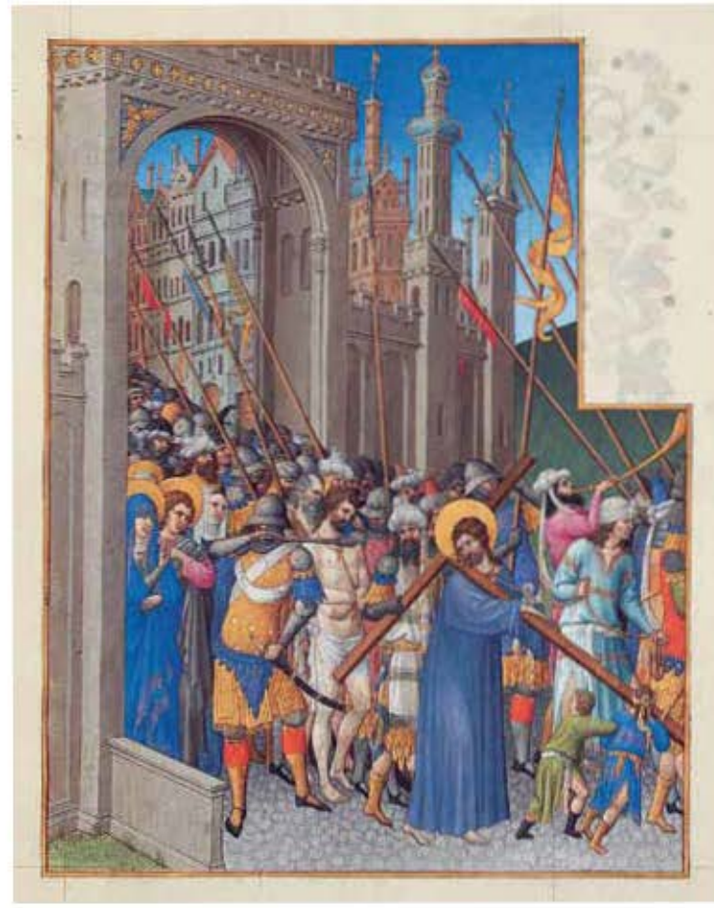


Fig. 160. Limbourg brothers. *Christ Carrying the Cross. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅓ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 147)

Fig. 161. Jacopo Avanzi (Italian, fl. 1363–84). *Martyrdom of Saint James*, 1376–77. Fresco. Chapel of Saint James, Basilica of Saint Anthony, Padua

To address this issue of adding narrative detail, the Limbourg brothers again drew on Italian wall painting. Rather than raising the point of view, they vertically elevated the landscape and constructed it as though it were a Roman amphitheater viewed from the ground looking straight ahead to the foreground figures, and then raising the eyes until they reach the horizon at the top of the picture plane. This spatial construction was used by Altichiero and Jacopo Avanzi in their frescoes of the Chapel of Saint James, Basilica of Saint Anthony (Il Santo), Padua, executed in 1376–79.[2] The Limbourg brothers had at least secondary knowledge of the *Martyrdom of Saint James* (fig. 161), as the *Carrying of the Cross* in the *Belles Heures* (fol. 138v, p. 177), and later, on a more grand scale, the same subject in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 160), both basically follow the composition on the left side. Additionally, the detail of the farmer driving the ass in the background is quoted in reverse in the *February* page of the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 165).

The Limbourg brothers used versions of this type of spatial construction on numerous occasions in the *Belles Heures*, particularly when they wished to represent more than one episode within a single illumination. This is the case, for example, in the *Lion Finds the Missing Ass* in the Story of Saint Jerome cycle, in which three different scenes of the legend are depicted (fol. 187, p. 225). A similar construct is used in the *Sick Attending the Funeral of Saint Jerome* (fol. 189v, p. 228). In the second through fifth images of the Story of Saints Paul and Anthony, the Limbourg brothers further experimented with landscape composition, and in the instance of *Saint Anthony Seeks the Hermitage of Saint Paul* they eliminated the horizon altogether (fol. 191v, p. 233). This double point of view—straight on for Saint Anthony and aerial for the rest of the image—and the varied and distorted scale and perspective may appear odd to the modern eye, but this convention of representation was familiar to the brothers and their patron. They repeated the construct in their depiction of Paradise in the *Très Riches Heures*: whereas Adam and Eve are viewed straight on, the meticulously depicted paradisal wooded glades are viewed from above and in an impossibly reduced scale (see fig. 131).

The repetition of compositional schemata signaled the Limbourg brothers' dominant interest in narrative imagery and the subordinated concern with spatial constructs. The composition of the *Carrying of the Cross* as it appears toward the end of the first gathering of the *Bible moralisée* is essentially the same in the *Belles Heures* and remains so in the *Très Riches Heures*: the procession emerges through the gate in the city walls at the left, Christ in the center of the composition bears the Cross while looking back at his Mother, and the soldiers in the lead disappear behind the right picture frame (see figs. 107, 160). The compressed foreground space, the featureless middle ground, and the lack of background are essentially retained in all three compositions. Furthermore, the curious parapet in the lower left corner of the Avanzi wall painting is likewise reinterpreted in all three versions (see fig. 161). Frequently adapting those established by earlier artists, the brothers were unlikely to substantially change the basic elements of a composition, as long as they suited their purposes.

Fig. 162. *Saint John Baptizes Christ*, fol. 211v (detail)

What changed was scale and conception. In the *Bible moralisée* the city walls, in order to represent the whole, are drastically reduced relative to the human figures; to reconcile scale in the *Belles Heures* the city walls were extended beyond the picture frame; in the *Très Riches Heures* the scale was calibrated to the enlarged format so that the city walls could more accurately tower over the figures. Artistic vision transformed the image from a limited visual cipher in the *Bible moralisée* to a more dramatically charged scene poignantly focusing on the empathy between Mother and Son in the *Belles Heures*, to the monumentality and ordered grandeur in the *Très Riches Heures*.

Reinforcing the Narrative: Palette, Light, and Painterly Perfection

In addition to narrative cohesion, the illuminations in the *Belles Heures* are distinguished by their exceptional palette. Like some

Fig. 163. Fol. 186v, photomicrograph (detail)

Fig. 164. Fol. 186v, photomicrograph (detail)

of the compositional devices they adopted, the Limbourg brothers were influenced in this regard by the Parement Master, specifically the *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, a manuscript they must have known well. The pale greens and pinks of the architecture, the saturated blues and rose pinks of the costumes, the occasional punctuations of vivid tones, particularly orange-red, and vibrant tile combinations such as gray-green and coral, which the Limbourg brothers favored in some of the earlier illuminations in the *Belles Heures*, such as the *Flagellation* (fol. 132, p. 173), can all be found in the Parement Master's work (see fig. 104). Whereas saturated ultramarine blue and white—which they applied with unrivaled effect—remained constants, increasingly the Limbourgs developed a cooler and more muted palette favoring hues of rose, pale yellow, soft violet, and grayish green. The varied yet harmonious palette at once defines individual forms, clearly separating one from another, and enhances compositional unity, providing coherent order through balance of color values (fol. 19v, p. 105). The control of palette reinforces the compositional equilibrium of form and mass. Just as the angel's wings mirror the arc of John's arm in *Saint John Baptizes Christ* and together describe arcs of a circle around Christ, who in turn stands in a circular pool effecting emphatic compositional unity, so the limited but varied choice of color is carefully balanced assuring that no tonality outweighs another (fig. 162). In this case, the yellowish brown of John's camel-skin robe, with its reddish interior and the light violet of Christ's robe, which the angel holds, are complementary and balanced in that they fall opposite each other in a spectral color wheel. The Limbourg brothers must have had an innate, if not scientific, awareness of spectral properties, for they consistently opposed lavenders with yellowish greens, violets with yellows, and pale reds with muted bluish greens.

The harmonious palette and balanced compositions were further enhanced by the handling of light. The illuminations of the Limbourg brothers are suffused in a clear, sourceless light that pervades the scenes and bathes the figures with an even and clarion luminosity, casting no shadows. Contours, whether of landscape or figure, are built up in fine gradations of color from dark to light, creating volumetric, sculptural forms. Seamless transitions from deep recesses to highlights may be compared to contemporary *basse-taille* enamels of which the duke owned quantities, the coloristic effects of which the Limbourg brothers may have been imitating. The modeling of the Carthusians' robes in *Entering the Grande Chartreuse* brings to mind the opaque white enamel *en-ronde-bosse*, which Jean de Berry so highly valued (see fol. 97, p. 161, and fig. 22).

In the *Belles Heures* the Limbourg brothers attained in the application of paint an unrivaled level of technical perfection. This is most evident in the modeling of figures that was achieved by

Fig. 165. Limbourg brothers. *February*. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 2v, detail)

Fig. 166. *Saint Anthony Is Attacked by Devils*, fol. 194

Fig. 167. *Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers*, fol. 283 (detail)

building up numerous layers of paint. The lowest layer constituted the darkest tone and each additional layer consisted of almost imperceptibly lighter and lighter tones until the final near-white highlights. These layers were put down with the finest of short brushstrokes, each of which follows the contours they describe. As the layers build up, the painted surface literally takes on the appearance, when viewed through a binocular microscope, of a sculptural relief. The gradations in color are often so refined that they, too, cannot be perceived without visual assistance. One of the most accomplished miniatures in this regard is *Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw*. The modeling is realized with such fine brushstrokes and indiscernible shifts of color that the surface takes on a velvety appearance (fig. 163). The facial features are delineated with such subtlety that the shadow of the eyebrow, the reddening of the lips, or the pupil of the eye is often defined by the single stroke of a hair of miniver (fig. 164).

The technical skills honed in the *Belles Heures* are further refined in the *Très Riches Heures*. Certainly one of the most astonishing examples of color control and painterly technique is found in the *February* page (fig. 165).[3] In meticulously observed detail, smoke rises from the chimney of the dwelling in the foreground wafting upward and eventually dissipating, becoming barely perceptible against the leaden winter sky. In the distant background smoke also rises from the chimneys of snow-covered houses, and although it is virtually impossible to detect in even the best reproductions, the artists have clearly distinguished the rising patterns of gray smoke as they slowly dissipate from the air-driven modulations of the leaden sky behind and from the chilly gray atmospheric haze between the viewer and the distant village. It is a visual tour de force that presages the "descriptive realism of particulars" that abounds in the paintings of Jan van Eyck and the first generation of Early Netherlandish painters.[4] One can well understand why Jean de France held the Limbourg brothers in such high esteem and why this and the other images from the Calendar pages have gripped the imagination of the viewer down to this day.

Emotional Charge

In the *Belles Heures* the Limbourg brothers introduced in their subjects new levels of psychological content and emotional complexity. Their powers of observation and technical skills informed an explicit gesture or expression that the viewer could recognize and identify with. The *Lamentation*, for example, conveys at once the stoic internal grieving of the Virgin, the empathetic succor of the female figure tending the Virgin, and the demonstrative grief of another mourner rending her hair (a borrowing from Simone Martini, as we have seen) and of John wiping tears from his eyes while clutching the Virgin's shoulder (fol. 149v, p. 183). The monks witnessing the corpse of Diocrès crying out wear expressions ranging from dismay to wonderment to horror (fol. 94v, p. 157). One of the mischievous monks who tricked Jerome into wearing a woman's garb into the chapel leers with vengeful relish as his companion turns toward him to whisper while glancing at

Fig. 168. *Beheading of Porphyrius*, fol. 19 (detail)

the oblivious Jerome (fol. 184v, p. 221). The face of Saint Anthony looking beyond the sepulcher he shares with a medley of fearsome demons conveys at once physical torment and spiritual calm (fig. 166). As Salome presents the head of John the Baptist she pulls her head away, Herod raises his hand in horror, and Herodias recoils in revulsion as she sends a knife into the saint's temple (fol. 212v, p. 256).

The Limbourg brothers were also able to elicit emotional responses that were implicit through the cast of eye, bearing of the head, apposition of figures, and incident of view. Through these means the intellectual authority and spiritual attainment of Saint Catherine (fol. 16, p. 97), or the inner torment of Jerome attempting to reconcile his interest in pagan literature with his faith in the scriptures (fig. 167) are revealed to the viewer. Likewise we understand that Maxentius in the *Beheading of Porphyrius* turns away from the execution scene before him and rends his tunic not out of revulsion for the carnage that confronts him—though there is that—but for the sting of betrayal on the part of a trusted friend, the pain of which is universally experienced (fig. 168). The emotive qualities that inform the narrative imagery of the Limbourg brothers reinforce the underlying moral and spiritual values and are unparalleled in French illumination of the period.

Italianate and Northern Influences

The illuminations in the *Belles Heures* are all the more striking, because, as we have seen, at a time when painting in the North was increasingly pervaded by naturalism in the portrayal of the observable world, the Limbourg brothers espoused an essentially Italianate aesthetic. Their orderly and shallow constructs of space, large-scale figures that dominated the spatially limited pictorial stage, increasing inclination toward a muted palette, simplified and legible forms, and undifferentiated surface textures due to the opacity of pigment and the technique of application, all place the Limbourg brothers closer to Giotto and trecento painting than to the Boucicaut Master and contemporary French painting. Italian influence continues in the *Très Riches Heures* but on a more magisterial scale. In the case of *Christ Led to Judgment* (fig. 169), *Christ Leaving the Praetorium*, and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fig. 160) the grand and complex architectural settings recall the compositions of Taddeo Gaddi, whereas the pathos of the crowded scenes brings to mind those of Simone Martini. The expansive landscape of the

Fig. 169. Limbourg brothers. *Christ Led to Judgment*. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅞ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 143)

Fig. 170. Limbourg brothers. *Adoration of the Magi. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅞ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 52)

Fig. 172. Gentile da Fabriano (Italian, 1385–1427). *Adoration of the Magi*, 1423. Tempera on wood, central panel: 9 × 9 ft. (3 × 2.83 m). Uffizi Gallery, Florence (Inv. 1890.8364)

Fig. 171. Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Italian, Sienese, active 1319–47). *The Effects of Good Government in the Country*, 1338–40. Fresco. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

Fig. 173. Limbourg brothers. *April. Très Riches Heures*, 1412/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 4v, detail)

Fig. 174. Limbourg brothers. *May. Très Riches Heures*, 1412/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 5v, detail)

Adoration of the Magi (fig. 170), on the other hand, is closer to Ambrogio Lorenzetti (fig. 171), and the densely populated and dazzlingly arrayed procession foreshadows the analogous work of their contemporary Gentile da Fabriano (fig. 172).

The Calendar pages of the *Très Riches Heures* are justifiably held to be the most famous of medieval paintings to come down to us.[5] Astonishingly grand and complex in design and conception they are nonetheless remarkably accessible to the modern viewer largely because they represent ordinary activities and seasonal settings that are comprehensible and, indeed, familiar. There is no puzzling iconography to penetrate nor "histories" that try credulity to parse. The scenes capture the rhythm of time and season, and although distinctly from the duke's viewpoint—representing the many castles and palaces he loved and depicting ordinary folk as he would have them—the viewer is nonetheless perceptually drawn into the scene. The convincing vision or mimesis of the world they experienced achieved through surface textures, play of light, pictorial order, detailed observation, and sheer technical virtuosity persuades the viewer that they are accurate representations of our sensorial knowledge of the world. In this sense, the Limbourg brothers embraced their Netherlandish roots. Nonetheless we rationally know that the depictions are illusionary, as space is not structured accurately according to the principles of perspective.[6] We focus here on three of those pages that were painted in their entirety by the Limbourg brothers.[7] The slender courtiers in the foreground of the *April* page are viewed straight on, and the landscape rises to a relatively high horizon so we look slightly up at the castle of Dourdan or possibly Pierrefonds (fig. 173). The lake with its boaters in the middle ground, however, is viewed from slightly above, and the vantage into the walled

Fig. 175. Limbourg brothers. *August. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11⅞ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 8v)

Fig. 176. Limbourg brothers. *February*. *Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 2v)

Fig. 177. *Annunciation to the Shepherds*. *Friel Hours*, ca. 1425. Tempera, ink and gold on parchment, 6¼ × 4⅝ in. (16 × 11.9 cm). Private collection (fol. 76)

Fig. 178. *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, fol. 52 (detail)

garden is distinctly aerial. The oblique angle of the wall and the excessive diminution of the near stand of trees confuse the spatial relationship with the group of courtiers. But the scene is pervaded with a cool, even light, the crisp atmosphere lightens the sky but slightly at the horizon, the trees and grass are the lush yellowish green of early spring growth, and the silvery waters of the lake sparkle in the clarion light. It is, without doubt, a perfect day in April, the month of betrothal, and here the young elegant couple—possibly the duke's daughter Marie de Berry (1375/6–1434) and Jean I, duc de Bourbon (1380/81–1434), who were married in Paris in 1401—exchange rings.[4]

In the *May* page, the courtiers on horseback are viewed straight on while the landscape rises to a high horizon with the woods in the middle ground and the rooftops of the distant city in the background against an azure sky graced with puffs of clouds. The foliage now is a deeper green, the grass more mottled from maturing growth, and the bushes are in bloom (fig. 174). The brownish masonry and blue-gray slate roofs, possibly of the Châtelet and Palais de la Cité in Paris, appear to retain the cool of an early morning shower suggested by the scattering gray clouds. Whereas in the *Belles Heures* the textures of costumes are undifferentiated and only occasionally enhanced with simple gold stitching on hems, here surface treatments distinguish fur from silk and from velvet, and there is an abundance of embroidered detail and rich enhancements to the courtiers' costumes and the horses' caparisons. The figures are animated and energized; the dogs likewise are friskily cavorting on a fresh spring day.

In the *August* page (fig. 175), the foreground figures are viewed from a slightly elevated position, the bathers enjoying a refreshing plunge in the middle ground are seen from above, and the Château d'Estampes is viewed more or less straight on. Notwithstanding perspectives, heat radiates from the landscape. The courtly group on horseback enjoys a summer's day falconing; here fur hats and turbans have given way to cool, wide-brimmed straw hats. Dogs pant on the dusty road, and naked figures cool off in the river's waters. The elevated view of the water and the figures that gambol in it harks back to the depiction of the Grande Chartreuse in the *Belles Heures* (fol. 97v, p. 162). In the background the walls of the Château d'Estampes appear bleached out and seem to reflect the heat rising from the fields of golden yellow wheat being harvested outside the castle walls.

What makes the Limbourg brothers' landscapes in the Calendar pages of the *Très Riches Heures* so extraordinary and compelling is not their mastery of one-point perspective or the mathematical precision of their construction. Rather there is palpable verisimilitude in their renderings whereby, through the manipulation of light, form, color, and surface, they conjure up images of a world we believe we have experienced. The *February* page convinces us that

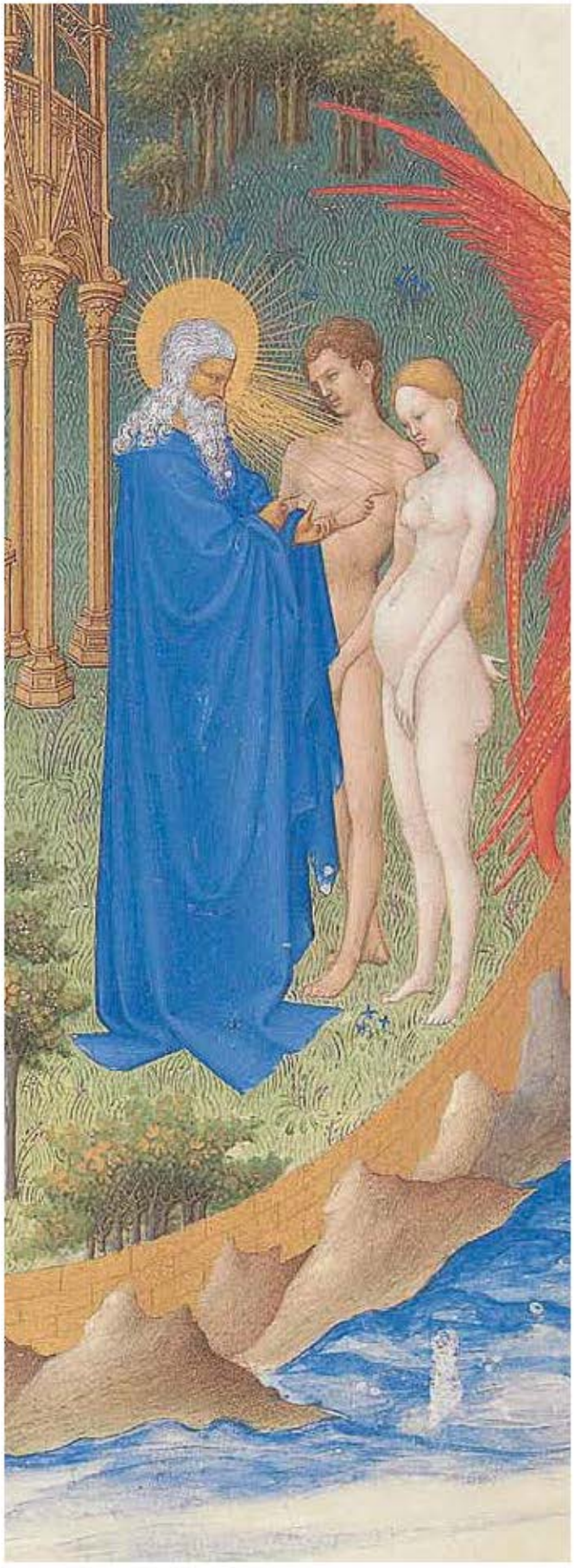


Fig. 179. Limbourg brothers. *Garden of Eden. Très Riches Heures*, 1411/12–16. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum, 11½ × 8¼ in. (29 × 21 cm). Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly (Ms. 65, fol. 25v, detail)

Fig. 180. Jan van Eyck (Netherlandish, ca. 1380/90–1441). *Eve*. Ghent Altarpiece, 1432. Oil on panel, 80⅝ × 12¾ in. (204.3 × 32.3 cm). Saint Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent (Inv. no. 426)

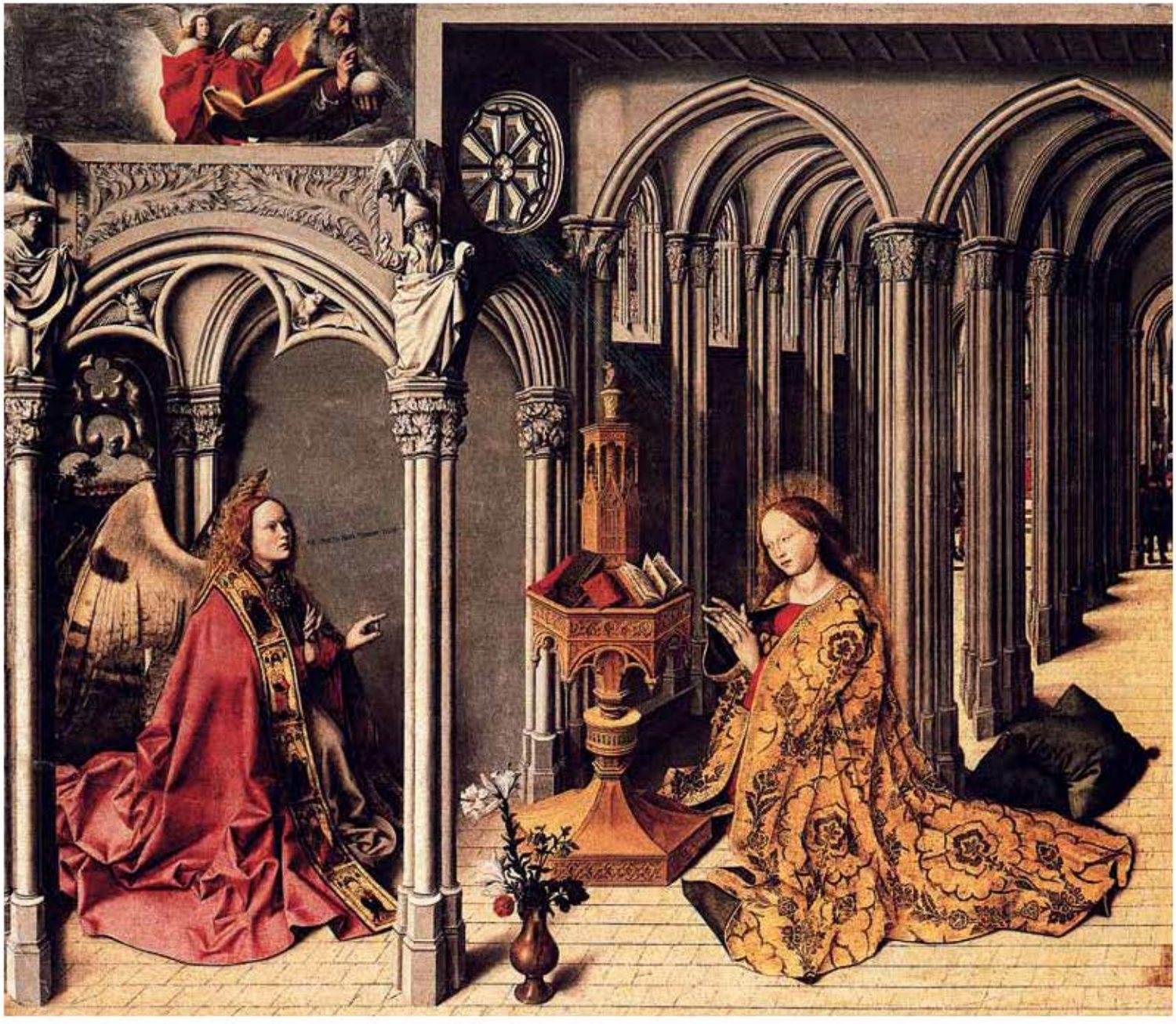


Fig. 181. Barthélemy d'Eyck (Flemish, active in France 1440s–1470s). *Annunciation*, completed by 1444. Panel, 5 × 5¾ ft. (1.55 × 1.76 m). Church of the Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence, France

it is cold, in part because the peasants are sitting before an open fire warming their private parts and because the figure approaching the hut has drawn a shawl across his face to protect him from the biting cold, but in greater measure because the depiction of the leaden cast to the brilliant white snow captures its hoary chill and the gray clouds and dull light crystallize the frosty pall of a winter's day (fig. 176). Similarly, through the clear saturated blue of the sky in the *April* page, the silvery reflection of the lake's surface, the young verdant greens of the greensward and trees, and the cool suffusing light, we know we are experiencing a fresh spring day. In the *August* page, the hazy blue of the sky at the horizon, the bleached-out yellows in the wheat fields, the brown-tinged greensward, the dusty road, and the warm sullen light inform us of the heat of a high summer's day. The Limbourg brothers' almost supernatural ability to manipulate the painted surface, to control a seemingly limitless palette, and to reinvent the play of light are their supreme artistic achievements, brought to florescence in the *Belles Heures* and aggrandized in the *Très Riches Heures*.

The Legacy

In 1417, a year after the duke's death, the *Belles Heures* was purchased from his estate by Yolande of Aragon, duchess of Anjou,

who played a crucial role in furthering the fortunes of the house of Valois by protecting the Dauphin and seeing him to the throne as Charles VII. His marriage to Yolande's daughter, Marie, further tied the houses of Valois and Anjou. These dynastic interests linked Yolande and Jean de Berry, and it may well be that she knew the manuscript and coveted it during the duke's lifetime. After her death, the whereabouts of the manuscript is unknown, but it, or—more likely—copies of some of its miniatures, were known, as the compositions of several of the illuminations mostly from the Hours of the Virgin appear in a handful of ordinary Books of Hours apparently originating in Brittany about 1425.[9] These are hardly a measure of the Limbourg brothers' achievements, for most are rather slavish copies (fig. 177) and the best cannot approximate the technical accomplishment of the Limbourg brothers (fig. 178). The inaccessibility of the manuscript limited its artistic legacy. Thus the narrative cycles, which are unique to, and the crowning achievement of, the *Belles Heures*, had no resonance with subsequent manuscript painting. Yet there are some indications that the attainments of the *Belles Heures* somehow were transmitted to an elite few of the next generation of painters in the North. It is difficult, for example, to look at the images of *Saint Catherine Tied to a Column* or, more to the point, Eve in the *Garden of Eden* in the *Très Riches Heures* and not think of Jan van Eyck's *Eve* on the right wing of the Ghent altarpiece (see figs. 85, 179, and 180).

While the *Belles Heures* was in the custody of the house of Anjou, select artists in the ducal employ must have had access to their employer's treasures, much as the Limbourg brothers had. Barthélemy d'Eyck, *peintre et varlet de chambre* to Yolande's son, René, king of Naples and duke of Anjou, was surely one of these.[10] He most likely knew the Limbourg brothers' work, for

Fig. 182. *Annunciation*, fol. 30 (detail)

Fig. 183. *Saint Catherine in Her Study*, fol. 15 (detail)

Fig. 184. Barthélemy d'Eyck (Flemish, active in France, 1440s–1470s). *Annunciation* (detail), 1444. Panel, 5 × 5¾ ft. (1.55 × 1.76 m). Church of the Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence, France

Fig. 185. *Annunciation*, fol. 30 (detail)

in midcentury he in all probability completed the *Très Riches Heures* Calendar pages for March, June, July, September, October, and December, which the Limbourg brothers had underdrawn and partially painted before their deaths.[11] There is indirect evidence that Barthélemy d'Eyck—very likely a blood relative of Jan van Eyck with whom he shared considerable artistic affinity[12]—knew the *Belles Heures* as well, for his *Annunciation*, originally the center panel of a triptych, completed by 1444 and now in the Church of the Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence (fig. 181), pays notable homage to the Limbourg brothers' compositions. The column surmounted by a prophet that separates the Virgin and the Annunciate angel and the appearance of God the Father with angels above hark back to these distinctive details in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 182), while the deeply recessive architectural space behind the Virgin and the prominent book stand reference the composition of *Saint Catherine in Her Study* (fig. 183). The acanthus foliage that fills the squinch above the angel—a signature motif of the Limbourg brothers—would seem to signal Barthélemy d'Eyck's esteem for these exceptional illuminators of the previous generation (figs. 184, 185). Likewise, his intervention in the completion of the Calendar pages, a generation after the deaths of the Limbourg brothers, was so sensitive as to go undetected until the 1970s and may signal further homage to the protean talents of the brothers from Nijmegen.

1. See Paris 2004a, pp. 180–82, no. 172. Châtelet 2000, pp. 221–222, dates the manuscript somewhat later to 1412–16. All the major illuminations are reproduced in the Châtelet volume.
2. For a full discussion of this fresco cycle, see Richards 2000, pp. 135–176.
3. Meiss (1974, pp. 186–87) believed that Paul de Limbourg was responsible for the *February* page. Cazelles and others believe it to be the work of the intermediate painter often identified as Barthélemy d'Eyck (see note 7 below). While there may well have been midcentury intervention, details of the composition, such as the stance of the axman, the vignette of the peasant with the donkey cart, the drawing of the trees, and the facial types of the peasants in the hut, indicate that the composition is by the Limbourg brothers. Close scrutiny of the painted passages discussed here, which are miniature symphonies in white and gray and are executed with the same technical finesse and brilliance as the Carthusians' robes in *Entering the Grande Chartreuse* in the *Belles Heures* (fol. 97), reveals that they are assuredly the work of the Limbourgs.
4. See Harbison 1995, pp. 24–34, esp. p. 27.
5. Camille (1990, pp. 83–107) recounts the history of the publications of images of the Calendar pages and how their interpretations have implanted these images in the popular consciousness.
6. The subject of the Limbourg brothers and landscape, with particular focus on the Calendar pages, is incisively and concisely addressed by Bakker 2005 and informs the basic argument put forth here.
7. Meiss (1974, p. 178) maintains that the Limbourg brothers were responsible for all or most of the Calendar pages except for November, which is clearly the later work of Jean Colombe. Bellosi (1975) observed that the costumes in the *bifolia* of January/August (fols. 1/8) and April/May (fols. 4/5) are early fifteenth century in style, while those of March, June, September, October, and December date to the middle of the century. Most scholars since, including Cazelles (1984, pp. 72, 78–80) and Stirnemann (2005, p. 213), concur that the Limbourgs alone completed the miniatures of January, April, May, and August. The Limbourg brothers, in my opinion, were also responsible for the compositions of February/July (fols. 2/7; see note 3 above) and largely completed them with midcentury intervention confined mostly to the foreground figures, notably the peasants shearing in the lower right of the July page.
8. Another possible couple is the duke's granddaughter, Bonne d'Armagnac, and Charles d'Orléans. See Stirnemann 2005, p. 224.
9. These include the *Friel Hours* (now in a private collection); the Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. 865; the Spitz Hours, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 57, 94.ml.26; and the Free Library of Philadelphia, Ms. Widener 5. See Nijmegen 2005, nos. 107, 108, 112.
10. For a critical discussion of the artist and the works attributed to him, see Dominique Thiébaut in Paris 2004b, pp. 1123–41.
11. For a concise discussion of the hands in the Calendar pages of the *Très Riches Heures*, see Cazelles 1984, pp. 71–73.
12. Dhanens [1980], p. 62.

Appendix

Technical Observations: Materials, Techniques, and Conservation of the Belles Heures *Manuscript*

MARGARET LAWSON

The Limbourg brothers' beautiful *Belles Heures* manuscript was brought from The Cloisters to the Department of Paper Conservation in the Main Building of the Metropolitan Museum in 1996 for a preliminary examination prior to undergoing special photography for a new full-color facsimile.[1] As a preparatory step, the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters arranged to have the modern binding removed.[2] Under microscope magnification in the laboratory, the manuscript, executed in tempera, gold, silver, and ink on parchment, revealed severe flaking problems.[3]

The necessity to undertake what became a long-term conservation treatment of this extremely important treasure provided a unique opportunity to investigate the materials and techniques in depth. During examination[4] technical observations were made, and historical treatises were reviewed for background information.[5] Nondestructive X-ray diffraction (XRD) in areas of flaking indicated that basic lead carbonate was the primary pigment, both alone and in admixtures, suggesting that lead white played an important role in the problem.[6] Scientific research was performed on binders to select the best materials and method for treatment and to understand possible causes of media degradation, and additionally, analysis was undertaken on some of the pigments found in the *Belles Heures*.[7] The observations, investigations, and conservation treatment of the *Belles Heures* manuscript are described in this essay.[8]

Evolution in Materials and Techniques

A few of the more remarkable and often innovative features observable in the *Belles Heures* include the even, velvety smooth parchment (so appealing to the touch), the sparkling borders of gold bryony leaves, astonishing fine punchwork patterns found in some gold backgrounds of the Calendar, and scattered intricate diapered designs throughout the manuscript. The penned ink text is extremely even and fluid. Rubrics and alternating lines of red and blue text below pictorial cycle scenes are sometimes so thickly applied that they are almost sculptural. The paintings themselves are in a beautiful range of pastel colors showing unusual poses, complex figural groups, efforts to show perspective, charming landscape details, and finely modeled drapery of a variety of garments in varied colors. Tonal gradations in sky and land almost imperceptibly change from dark to light with minute, delicate brushstrokes, sometimes of a totally different color. Shimmering water is depicted with colored and white washes over gold and silver leaf. Over and over again, one is awestruck with the artistry. These extraordinary achievements represent combined efforts of a number of skilled individuals: the parchment maker, scribes, rubricator, gilder, border painters, manuscript painters (the Limbourg brothers), manuscript binder, and mandatory to the endeavor for his vision and support, the patron, Jean de France, duc de Berry.

The freshness of the *Belles Heures* points not only to the brilliant artistic skill of all involved, but also to the knowledge of appropriate preparation of materials, an awareness of the work of others, a willingness to implement new ideas, and a practiced craftsmanship in the art of making and maintaining wonderful tools.

Pigment Availability

Tax records indicate that at the time the Limbourg brothers were working, trade between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East was such that all the pigments, dyes, metals, and binders described in the artistic treatises were available for purchase.[9] By the fifteenth century, treatises indicate that pigments could be bought at apothecaries or from merchants, thus relieving the artists of much of the labor-intensive processing. Jean de Berry, from all appearances, spared no expense on the *Belles Heures* manuscript, and the Limbourg brothers were able to obtain the finest materials. This luxury undoubtedly saved the artists time and encouraged experimentation, but the treatises still point to the great skill of the craftsmen that was necessary for the final preparation of the materials.[10]

Beyond the extensive use of the brilliant and valuable ultramarine blue originating from Afghanistan, several materials offered fresh opportunities and added a new brightness to the Limbourg brothers' palette.[11] The commonly used toxic pigment orpiment (yellow sulfide of arsenic) found in the *Belles Heures* had a reputation for being problematic when mixed with or applied above some pigments, including lead and copper-based pigments and folium, limiting the use of the color.[12] An additional yellow identified in the manuscript is the stable pigment lead tin yellow type I, used alone or in admixtures with indigo to make green. It is an example of a pigment that was probably not available until sometime in the fourteenth century, but it enabled an exciting freedom to mix a wider range of colors.

The opaque red, vermilion, is rich by itself, but when mixed with white or colors it can yield surprisingly dull colors.[13] Transparent

organic red adds vibrancy and luminosity as a glaze in the manuscript palette and is selectively applied over parts of the red lead in initials and border flowers, adding richness to the orange.[24] One cannot judge a color from appearances alone. In attempts to perform nondestructive analysis, the instrumental reading for this pigment was below the detection limit under the experimental methods used. Elemental analysis of a flake from a drip in the margin indicates the presence of calcium, aluminum, and sulfur, suggesting that the color is a lake. Treatises of the period speak of "Paris red" made from brazilwood, an organic colorant. Experiments with historical recipes yield similar end-product colors, suggesting that "Paris red" may be a possibility for the type of transparent red observed. Small amounts of transparent red mixed with blue and white become a light lavender-violet color, and concentrated red and blue create a deeper purple. Over white, the organic red is a transparent rose, and mixed with white, it results in a pure pink.

Binding Media

In making a pigment into a useable paint, the colored particles must be mixed with some kind of an adhesive material or vehicle. This is called the binding media, and in medieval times it could be as varied as glair (made from beaten egg white), egg yolk, casein, fish glue, parchment size, and gums. It is not possible to identify the binding media used in the *Belles Heures* pigments by nondestructive analysis at this time. Information about the materials and techniques comes from historical treatises, visual observations, and personal experience using medieval materials and techniques to enable the reconstruction of a *Belles Heures* page.

Some of the extraordinary artistic achievements of the Limbourg brothers may be partially attributed to a change in the tempering of pigments. By the early fifteenth century, the most frequently used binder, glair, was replaced by, or used in combination with, gum arabic. Glair retained the original quality of the pigment and provided a matte surface, but it was brittle and weak as an adhesive. Because it flowed easily, it continued as the medium for pigments used with a pen in manuscript illumination, but dried, glair was not amenable for reusing. Therefore, gums became more preferred as binding media for brush application.[25] Gum arabic from *Acacia* in Africa or India is stronger and provided transparency and saturation of colors. Where gum arabic was not available, other local gums such as that from a plum tree might be used. In *The Craftsman's Handbook* (1437), Cennino Cennini advised "always tempering your colors with gum arabic for use on parchment."[26] Similarly, about a century before the Limbourg brothers were working, Petrus de S. Audemar recommended using gum for all but green, ceruse (lead white), minium (red lead), and carmine.[27]

Pigment mixed with gum was more soluble and could be kept for reuse, similar to watercolor pans of the present day. This possibility undoubtedly saved time and changed the manner of painting. Where glair was fluid, but awkward to use, gum lent itself to fine control with a brush yielding more delicate details and modeling with a broad palette. However, gum-based paint with too much water in a brushstroke applied over an existing underlayer of a gum-based pigment could result in the problematic dissolving of the previously applied paint film. Gum encouraged careful, fine brushstrokes in the defining paint layer to eliminate solubility problems, and it allowed for transparent colors and buildup of glazes. In fact, it would seem that the Limbourg brothers became masters of the use of fine, almost invisible, brushstrokes for modeling and definition in their painting technique and style (see fig. 186).

It is possible that broad areas of matte underpainting, such as sky or garments, utilized glair to create a secure base layer, and gum medium permitted the fine, colorful, and more delicate details to be painted in the final layer, but this possibility cannot be ascertained without in-depth analysis.

A variety of other tempering methods continued to be used, even with the availability and improved handling qualities of gum arabic. Recommendations in the literature are inconsistent and sometimes conflict. Generally, egg yolk is suggested for verdigris, grass, and rubrics (titles, headings, or other words set apart from the text).[28] Wine or vinegar are also recommended for tempering verdigris. Glair remains the binder of choice for white lead and red lead. Animal glues derived from staghorn, parchment, and fish are also used in the preparation of colors, but more often they were indicated as the adhesive for the grounds for gold leaf.

Abundant recipes exist for the preparation of grounds and methods for gilding, partially owing to the extreme difficulty of

Fig. 186. Fol. 48v. The first lay-in of color for the garment is opaque light brown for the robe, and bright yellow for the arm. Darker, graceful and curving long lines delineate the form, and a combination of straight, medium- and short-modeling of a deeper tone provides three-dimensionality in the robe. The general impression of softness is due to the texture of the hair side of the skin.

Fig. 187. Fol. 201. Detail of white penned ornamentation on initial *I*. The parallel ridges in the white horizontal stroke are created by the quill nib as it is drawn across the surface. This thick double line is not found where the lead white mixture is thinner and flows more readily.

Fig. 188. Fol. 223v. Photomicrograph detail. Visible only under magnification is a small letter *p* in the turret above the castle on the hill at the top right.

achieving good results in different climates. To facilitate the application of gold leaf to the ground, a colorant—red, orange, yellow, or gray—was often added to make it more visible on the parchment support. The colored ground also helped to reduce irregularities in gilding and added richness behind the thin layer of gold.

Treatises warn of silver darkening, and although used in a limited number of areas, silver leaf adds a rich sparkle to church windows and depictions of water. The Limbourg brothers cleverly combined washes of color and glazes to the surface, taking advantage of the reflective quality of the silver below, but also partially protecting it from tarnishing.

Tools

Tools were essential to all the processes and were made to a precise size and shape to meet a need or function. Generally, in manuscript making, the pen is used for ink text, rubrics, capitals, drawings, flourishes, dots, and line endings (fig. 187). The brush was used for the miniature painting and for grounds that would have further embellishments with pen.

Curiosities

Magnification shows that on the final illuminated page of the manuscript, fol. 223v, in the upper right castle, in the small turret with a flag that rises up to touch the top border, is a mark that appears to be a small letter *p* (fig. 188). It is unique in form and a different color from the windows. Although scribes sometimes left personal notations in manuscripts, manuscript painters were generally not acknowledged, but one wonders if they could be secretly playful.

Conservation

Description

Parchment

The manuscript is composed of thirty-one quires[19] varying in size from two to twelve folios,[20] the average being eight leaves or four *bifolia*. Some contain single, blank, or scored pages without text. Numbers were penned sometime in the past on the upper right corner of the pages; by this pagination, there were 225 folios, or 450 pages in total, but number 188 was skipped by mistake, resulting in 224 folios.

The parchment in the *Belles Heures* is cream-colored on both sides.[21] The flesh side, found on the outside of the quire, is smooth (fig. 189). By contrast, the hair side has a velvety nap (fig. 190). Individual pages average 23.8 × 17 centimeters and vary in thickness from .09 to .22 millimeters. The folios are consistent in preparation and soft to the touch. The skin is oriented with the spine of the animal running along the vertical fold of each *bifolio*, recognized by the more dense distribution of hair follicles in the location and also evidenced by the thinner areas with radiation draws on either side of the spine, corresponding to the hip or shoulders of the animal (fig. 191). The vein structure (which can be seen on both sides), thickness, color, and follicle distribution suggest that the skin is calfskin (vellum), but more definitive information may be gained in the future by DNA analysis.[22] Confirming the process described in treatises, the presence of calcium was detected over much of the parchment surface,

Fig. 189. The smooth flesh side of the skin includes a corner of the border design with raised burnished gold leaves. An image from the verso of the more ornate border color design is revealed through the translucent skin. To the upper left is a pricked hole that may relate to the original layout process to define the border area.

Fig. 190. Hair side of skin in the border area. The napped surface of the skin shows the scattered brown hair fragments in follicles to the right. Diagonal parallel scratches in the gold are a result of the burnishing action, and the gray-toned gesso ground can be seen below the gold leaf.

Fig. 191. Fols. 21/29v. Transmitted light through the central portion of blank parchment *bifolio* 21/29v reveals the vertical orientation of the animal's spine (see mid-bottom), at right, and parallel and adjacent to the *bifolio's* spinefold. The thinner, lighter diagonal shapes on either side are the location of the animal's hips.

indicating that chalk or bone-dust priming was used to prepare the skin for drawing and painting.

A woven pattern imprinted in adhesive residues in the gutter suggests that there was a tipped-in fabric interleaving to protect the miniatures, a practice not uncommon in richly illuminated manuscripts. Small groups of holes, some of which contain knotted thread remnants above illuminations, indicate that protective "curtains" were also used on manuscript pages.

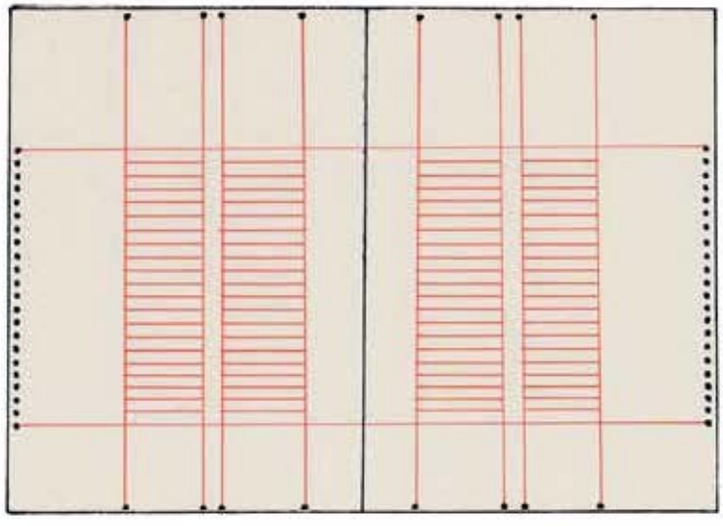


Fig. 192. Diagram for pricking and ruling a *bifolio*. Small black dots at the edges indicate pricked marks for the initial layout of the format text. Red penned lines connect the dots to create the two text columns for each folio. In the picture cycles, the layout for two text columns is dispensed with, and the abbreviated four lines of alternating red and blue text are used below the miniature.

Pricking: Layout for Text, Borders, and Illuminations

Although most evidence was removed in earlier trimming, the layout of the manuscript began with a series of pricked holes made near the edges at the top, sides, and bottom of each *bifolio* (fig. 192). A quire could probably be pricked at one time. The prickings were guide marks for drawing the lines that indicate the location of the text columns and scored lines for the scribe to follow for the text. A penned red line was drawn to connect opposite pricked holes from the top to the bottom and from one side to the other of the *bifolio*. These ruled lines also included the space for illuminations. In fact, in the early *Belles Heures* paintings, ruled text lines sometimes appear below the paintings. A slightly different manner of marking the *bifolia* was used for most later pictorial cycles. In these *bifolia* the pricked marks for the four lines of text appear as slits under the illumination, just inside the vertical border lines and below the painting in the vicinity of each of the four text lines (fig. 193). The mechanism by which rinceaux borders were laid out is not understood at this time, but in some *bifolia* (both for elaborate borders including painted leaves and the standard format with gold scrolling vines), pricked marks are found at each outside corner of the rinceaux border. In fact, pricked marks are also sometimes found by the illuminated miniatures, suggesting that pricking may have played a much greater part in the layout of the page beyond the text. Pricked holes may be impossible to see directly if or when gold, gesso, and pigments cover the evidence (figs. 194, 195).

Text

Quires prepared in the original format have twenty-two horizontal scored lines with twenty-one lines of text in two columns (see fig. 52). The later pictorial cycles have pricked marks within the border for four scored lines of alternating red and blue text be-

Fig. 193. Fol. 29v. Detail of pricked marks (horizontal slits) found under miniatures in the picture cycles. Just inside the inner right and left border, these guide marks were used in ruling penned lines for the four lines of alternating red and blue text.

Fig. 194. Fol. 93v. Shown under raking light, this example of a pricked mark at the corner of the illumination is readily seen because the side is blank. Ordinarily, such pricked marks at the border would be covered by gesso, gold, and pigment. This aspect of pricking may be an unrecognized element in the formal layout process.

Fig. 195. Fol. 93. The hole or pricked mark is visible in the corner of the illumination on the recto.

low a full illumination. The Calendar is scored with three narrow columns toward the left and a wide column to the right, with seventeen horizontal lines of script. The text appears to be written in an iron gall ink, in a so-called *littera textualis*, a Gothic book-script, used here in two sizes.[23] Catchwords are found at the bottom of pages, and there are numerous corrections throughout the text block.[24] In some passages of the brown ink text, the first initial is enhanced with a single stroke of yellow glaze.[25]

Rubrics are in orange-red, red, magenta, or blue. As an aid for the rubricator, the scribe has sometimes left a small brown inked letter in the first initials of a rubric (fig. 196). In other places, the

Fig. 196. Fol. 154, mid-left column. The small brown inked letter *a* found between red letters *a* and *n*, was left by the scribe as a guide for the rubricator who would write the red text.

Fig. 197. Fol. 165v. Spinefold border inscription in ultraviolet light. This script is more rounded, flamboyant, and exaggerated in expression. Compare with figs. 54, 55. Variations in the styles of penned notes in the border suggest that more than one scribe may have been working on the manuscript.

Fig 198. Fol. 174v. Spinefold border inscription in ultraviolet light. The notation is made in a controlled, even, and vertical hand that has a meditative quality.

Fig. 199. Fol. 27. This rough preliminary sketch for an angel is located in the mid-top open area between the scrolling bryony leaves.

Fig. 200. Fol. 180v, left column, above lower rubric. Pen and ink outline for a small line ending in the text. The unpainted underdrawing demonstrates the high degree of preliminary planning carried out before gilding and painting.

scribe has also left almost invisible notations in the spinefold border, now partially covered by the gilded leaves (see figs. 54, 55, 197, and 198). These notations correspond to text and miniatures. One might assume that similar notations were written beyond the pricking on the outside of the *bifolio* pages, but any evidence of them has been trimmed off.

Some text in the Calendar is written in gold. Initials, confined to a square or rectangular shape, one to three lines high, are surrounded by burnished gold, with scrolling bryony or acanthus leaves in the interior. Line-ending decorations vary from a simple burnished gold block without details to organic scrolling leaves, geometric shapes, or physical objects, such as pots.

Underdrawing

Examination of the manuscript under the microscope indicates that the planning and layout for all stages of production were carefully and extensively thought out. Indeed, this Book of Hours was an expensive undertaking, and as a collaborative project, the artists would have wanted to put their best efforts forward, leaving little chance for error. Establishing a layout design with underdrawing would be essential.

An underdrawing is the preliminary drawing laid down on the parchment before paint is applied. Typically in the fifteenth century, a lead point and/or a pen and dilute ink was used. The visible presence of underdrawing exists in all aspects of the design of the *Belles Heures* including initials, line endings, borders, and illuminations, indicating that all elements were completely delineated before painting. The underdrawing is purposefully delicate so as not to damage the skin and also to allow for gentle changes to be made where needed without being noticeable in the final painting. Evidence of both metalpoint and inked lines are present. An almost invisible, very loose sketch of an angel, found in the top border of fol. 27 (fig. 199), was drawn in contemplation of a preliminary design but it remains unpainted. The indented line suggests a metalpoint/stylus drawing.[26] Because the material deposited is so faint, any later application of ink or paint above the metalpoint sketch would obscure the evidence of its existence.

More readily noted, fluid yet pale underdrawing is seen on the parchment where the paint has been lost from painted initials, line endings, borders, and in areas changed or left unpainted (fig. 200). This underdrawing is done in a dilute black or brown ink pen line. In some cases it may be the only underdrawing lines made, or it may be a secondary, more refined underdrawing reinforcing a preliminary metalpoint sketch that cannot be seen.

Interestingly, sketchy ink underdrawing exists only on one side of the skin for the scrolling black vine and gold bryony leaves of the rinceaux borders. The standard format for borders in *bifolia* is for the rinceaux pattern to correspond directly on recto and verso, ingeniously creating a balance not only visually but also physically, balancing material tensions. (The exception is the elaborate borders surrounding ornate chapter headings.) For the standard borders, it is reasonable to assume that the artist completed the design on the side with the underdrawing. On the side without underdrawing, the translucent nature of the skin permitted the economic, direct duplication and completion of the border design. Research by Allen Farber attributes the *Belles Heures* border designs to artists who specialized in decorative borders.[27] See "Page Organization and Decoration" in this volume.

Throughout the manuscript illustrations, underdrawing for the design layout is visible to the trained, unaided eye, especially in areas with measurable paint loss. Underdrawing is also seen through transparent colors and washes, and observed where original design elements were changed or not included in the finished illu-

Fig. 201. Fol. 205v.
a. (top) Digital infrared photograph showing a drawing in the area above the altar for a crucifix and figures on either side.

b. (left) Detail of a seemingly empty area above the altar as the miniature appears in regular light.

c. (right) Ultraviolet fluorescence detail of the area above the altar revealing the sketch for a crucifix and figures.

mination. These are visible in a number of paintings, for example, in fol. 96 (see p. 159), the shrine with a crucifix on the headboard above the bishop is not painted. Depending on which side of the skin the drawing was made, the quality of the line may vary from soft and clean on the smooth flesh side, to more rough and irregular on the grain side in raking light, owing to the nap and texture. The underdrawing in the manuscript may be characterized as linear, generally confident, fluid, and graceful. From working together, observing techniques around them and experimenting, great strides and evolution can be seen in the artists' skills and abilities.

The underdrawing provides the structure of the painting, laying out the placement of all parts, outlining contours of figures, architecture, and landscape. Individual forms and details such as drapery, folds, eyes, nose, mouth, fingers, and feet further define the three-dimensional shapes. For very small details, the underdrawing generally takes on a shorthand quality with a brevity and lightness of touch that is assured, but not labored. Curiously, some design elements were not executed in the upper layers of the painting surface but can be seen clearly in ultraviolet examination, such as the crucifix with figures on top of the altar in fol. 205v (fig. 201).[28] The figures are extremely small, less than three-sixteenths of an inch high each. The completeness of the thought in the overall design layout for even the small miniatures is astonishing.

To aid in the further study of underdrawing, all miniature paintings were examined and documented using digital infrared photography in the range of 750–1000 nanometers.[29] The images show the presence of varying qualities of refined underdrawings for figures and distant landscape details and reveal changes within the design of the painting. An advantage of examining the digital infrared images was the absence of the strong unifying aspect created by the brilliant medieval palette, offering a new way of seeing the illuminated paintings. Initial perusal of the digital infrared files for underdrawing information immediately revealed

Fig. 202. Fol. 141v. Digital infrared photograph (detail of lower half), showing freehand drawing with many sketched details.

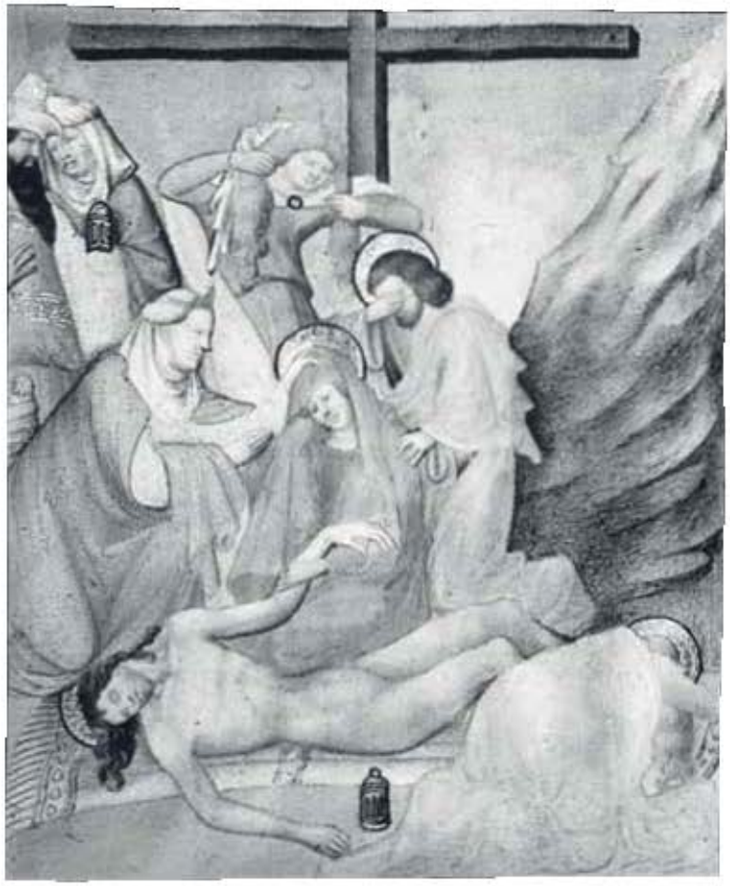


Fig. 203. Fol. 149v. Digital infrared photograph displaying a more sculptural, painterly quality, rather than linear.

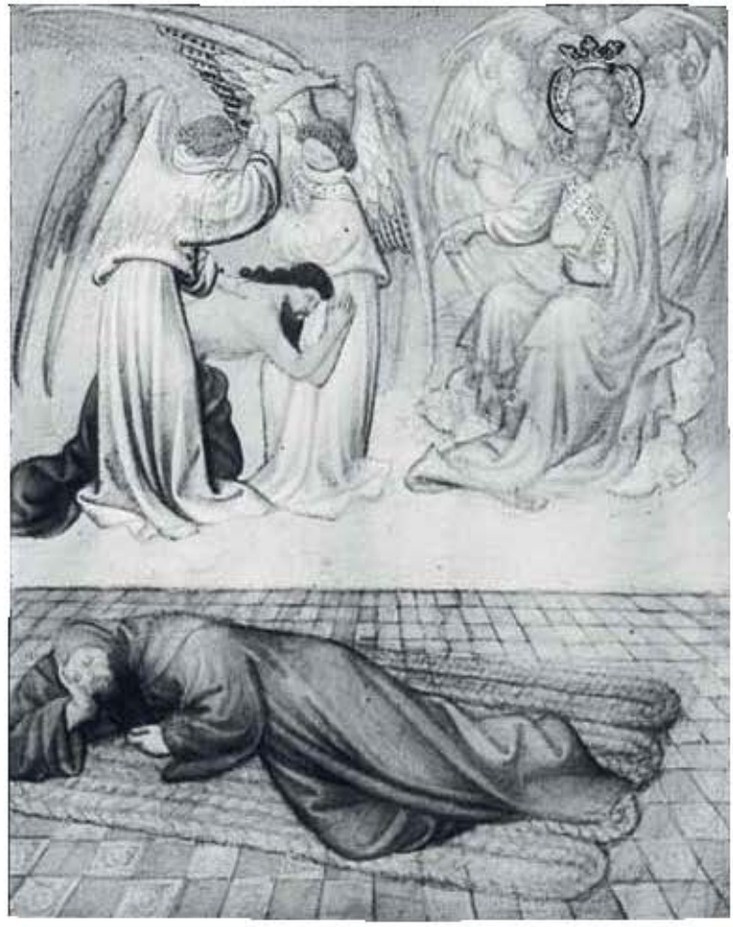


Fig. 204. Fol. 283v. Digital infrared photograph showing figures that exhibit exaggerated, linear characteristics, and express a lyrical movement within the separate parts.

evidence of stylistic differences possessed by individual paintings within the harmonious whole of the manuscript. Using terms similar to those used by Millard Meiss and Elizabeth Beatson,[39] briefly summarized, the formerly recognized drawing characteristics are: a detail-oriented drawing approach; a more painterly approach with gentle rounded forms and limited details; and a more elegant, exaggerated, lyrical approach. The following examples were first noted.

In the digital infrared photograph for fol. 141v (fig. 202) the artist's hand can be characterized as being in constant motion; line keeps moving and adjusting, defining, and refining. There is a struggle to position the figure in the mid-front and the composition is complicated. There is great attention to detail: drapery folds are sketched, there are wrinkles in leggings, shading in the upper grass, and modulation of lights and darks. The detail of Christ's Crown of Thorns, visible as pentimento in the miniature, was drawn, but not painted.

Fig. 205. Fol. 80. Detail of Christ's gold halo. Gold leaf is tamped down over a painted adhesive, yielding a matte, wrinkled surface. The tamped-down gold leaf reflects light in a different manner from smooth, raised burnished gold, which can be seen in the background diaper pattern on the upper right edge. The halo is enhanced with red lead and organic-red painted rays on top of the gold.

Fig. 206. Fol. 10. Detail of bottom quatrefoil, showing extraordinarily fine punchwork in a scrolling foliate pattern.

The approach of the artist in fol. 149v (fig. 203) is more sculptural than linear. Figures are soft, rounded, glowing, buttery—more like the fresco painting of Giotto or Fra Angelico. Details are limited. Layout lines and contrast appear soft, and there is a sense of light, mass, and gentleness. The composition is centered and conveys weight and substance. This approach can be described as more sculptural and painterly.

In fol. 183v (fig. 204) the digital infrared image shows that forms are exaggerated and lines are lyrical. In the underdrawing, the wings of the angels are rearranged, creating more movement. God's seat is drawn, but not painted, and—most striking—the figures are elongated. The body of Jerome, dreaming at the bottom, seems to extend horizontally. God the Father has a very long torso, and the bent figure in the upper left has an awkward mass. There is a slight tension where the shapes touch the border edges, yet the overall result is refined and elegant. The miniature is composed of separate elements but within each part there is a feeling of movement.

One or more of these distinguishing features can be recognized in most of the miniatures in the *Belles Heures* manuscript, but no attempt is made toward the identification of individual hands. The spectacular achievement of these artists is a tribute to their combined efforts.

Fig. 207. Fol. 189v. Gold leaf in linear decorative pattern. An adhesive (see the pink/white line visible in areas of gold loss) is applied on the surface of the miniature painting. The gold was tamped down on the sticky surface. When dry, the excess gold leaf could be brushed away.

Gilding

Gold leaf is used in three ways. Most often it is applied over a raised ground and burnished, as in the borders (see figs. 189, 190). The color of the gesso/bole preparation varies from white with red particles in the Calendar to gray, tan, or pink. Both the pink and gray grounds are primarily calcium carbonate based with additional unidentified materials.[32] In most cases, where it can be seen, the color of the gesso/bole is uniform throughout the given page.

In the second method, often found in haloes, gold leaf is tamped down without burnishing, resulting in a more matte, wrinkled surface, over a flat or unevenly applied ground that sometimes retains the impression of brushstrokes below its surface (fig. 205). Color applied as decorative lines or shading was sometimes

Fig. 208. Fol. 157. Fine lines as parallel strokes and some cross hatching in deeper red model the transparent rose-colored robe on the left. Rather than darker green-on-green to the right, a refreshing blue was selected to model the garment. The clarity of the brushstroke lines suggests the smooth flesh side of the skin.

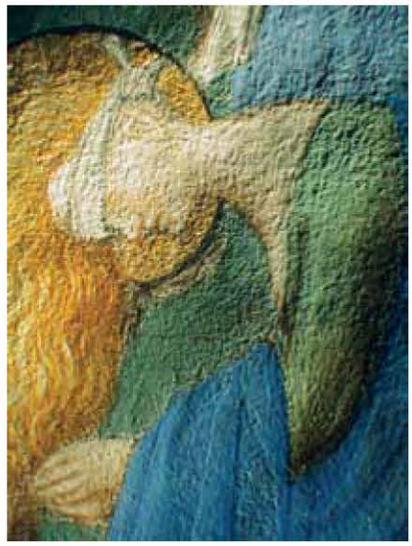


Fig. 209. Fol. 179v. In raking light, the variegated application of impasto brushstrokes was used to define the folds of the blue material draped over the arm in a three-dimensional manner. The vertical direction of the bristles of the brush used to paint the neck and face are visible, indicating that the paint was thick and the brush bristles strong. The painted surface's sculptural quality and the soft lines in the hair suggest the hair side of the parchment.

Fig. 210. Fol. 191. The foundation tone for the cloak is tan. More saturated brown contour lines outline the garment and dark, almost black, lines describe and shade the inner reaches of the arms. Small brushstrokes add shading and texture to the side of the arm and back. The highlights on the sleeve are formed by parchment fibers held in reserve—left unpainted, or possibly partially scraped to remain white. These unpainted parchment fibers, used as a negative space, add vibrancy and a richness in texture to the painted surface.

added to the surface of this gold. For example, lines of lead-tin yellow, red lead, and a transparent red organic material were painted on the surface of Christ's gold halo.[32]

The third gilding technique, in the form of decorative linear designs on backgrounds and clothing, looks like shell gold (brush-applied gold particles), but under magnification it is found to be gold leaf applied over a thin stroke of a milky lead-white mordant (fig. 207).[33]

Gold in the medallions and diapered patterns in the Calendar incorporate extraordinarily fine punchwork designs that reflect light, adding sparkle (fig. 206). Clever, limited use of silver leaf is found in several illuminations. A combination of washes and white highlights over textured silver leaf creates ocean waves or moving water, and when employed flat with glazes, it is used for shimmering church windows. On fol. 173, the parchment support where silver leaf is used to depict the sea (found in the lower portion) has discolored to brown in that area on the verso as it has on all miniatures with silver leaf and exposed parchment on the verso (see fol. 173, p. 207). On fol. 185, a thick black ground[34] is found below the silver leaf,[35] and the corresponding painted surface on the verso is beginning to alter (see fol. 185v, p. 223).

Pigments and Painting Techniques

The same color palette repeats from page to page in standard border and text decorations. These pigments include: a carbon-based black, lead white, red lead (orange), ultramarine blue, and an unidentified pink/rose organic material, which is used both singly (by itself) and as a glaze partially over red lead, forming a rich red. Illuminations incorporate many more colors, such as yellow, green, red, violet, brown, and gray, as well as mixtures and tints of these hues. The media application varies from fine lines to fluid, long (fig. 208), and/or variegated brushstrokes, and from thin transparent wash or glazes to thick impasto modeling that provides a three-dimensional sculptural surface (fig. 209). Often a fine line of space was left unpainted between colors—possibly part of the design, or recognition by the artists that some pigments would not be compatible if they were to overlap. To add definition, a stylus or sharp tool might be used to scratch lines into the surface of the paint. Whereas borders, initials, and line endings were outlined in black with white highlights, colored areas in illuminations were sometimes outlined or defined in contrasting colors or more intense shades of the same color, such as red, blue, or lavender, rather than brown or black. Shapes and surfaces were modeled by small,

Fig. 211. Fol. 19. Hair, or nap, side of the skin. The velvety texture is not conducive to an even-painted surface or continuous fine lines, but the hair side does indulge thickly loaded brushstrokes and yields a lush surface and pleasing softness to the miniature's finished appearance.

Fig. 212. Fol. 19v. Flesh side of the skin. The smooth side permits more control of fluid brushstrokes for washes and delicate continuing lines, creating crisper, cleaner hard-line details in painting. It does not, however, permit as solid an attachment for the pigment particles to the parchment, as does the hair side. As seen in the face and hands, the insecurity between the paint film and parchment more readily results in flaked losses.

fine, parallel, single strokes or cross hatching of another color, a deeper color, or white.[36] Controlled washes of varied shades of brown were used to model some brown garments, leaving the nap of the parchment surface in reserve to create highlights (fig. 210). Where practicable, pigments were analyzed to obtain as much information as possible about the materials of the *Belles Heures* manuscript and the Limbourg brothers' working techniques (see "Summary of Materials Analysis," below).

Condition

For these first six hundred years, the *Belles Heures* has had a varied life with a long period of unknown history, from its origin as a personal religious Book of Hours commissioned by Jean de France, to private collections where it may have been used, to surviving two world wars, and finally becoming a beloved example of fine artistic achievement by the Limbourg brothers in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters. The variety of environments to which the manuscript was subjected is not known, but this complex three-dimensional object was created with a combination of many different natural materials, from animals, plants, and minerals, all having unique characteristics. From use and exposure to light, air, changes in relative humidity and temperature, and handling, alterations naturally occur in the multiple materials.

The book suffered water damage toward the back, in mid-top borders, and upper illuminated designs, resulting in stains, offset pigments, and losses. Drips from pigments, wax, fibers, and other accretions are found throughout. Some black outlines were smudged from handling and the removal of "curtains" in the past.

The perfect alignment of the design between recto and verso is largely responsible for the good condition of many borders and illuminated designs. The even distribution of media helps minimize distortions in the parchment, paint, and gold, limiting physical damage. Areas where design elements do not coincide from recto to verso have more extensive losses.

Examination of the paint layer under magnification indicated that white and skin tones exhibited the greatest insecurity. Areas of old pigment loss have discolored to gray. Where pigments or lakes overlap gold, cracks were found at the edge of the gold. Many transparent glazes show significant cracks with tenting and scattered losses. Combinations of layers of bole, metal leaf, and thick pigments, built up in a three-dimensional manner, are cracking, tenting, and flaking, presenting treatment challenges. The surfaces of the manuscript were examined under high magnification (31x) with a soft fine brush, to see if areas with cracking were secure.

As noted above, parchment has two distinct sides, the hair side with nap, and the smooth flesh side. Attachment of gesso and pigment particles to the smooth side is difficult because material cannot easily imbed itself on the slick surface (figs. 211, 212). Climatic changes and handling weaken the bond and ultimately cause insecurity and flaking of the paint.

Analysis of friable areas and areas with losses indicated that basic lead carbonate [$2PbCO_3 \cdot Pb(OH)_2$] is the primary white pigment, both alone and as an admixture component for many tints, suggesting that lead white played an important role in the deterioration. The presence of lead white, also called "flake white," was not surprising in view of the problems consistently observed in the white areas and tints. Large white areas, white details,

Fig 213. Fol. 66v. Flaked losses in lead white on the belt reveal underdrawing lines and parchment below.

and skin tones exhibit significant flaking and losses throughout the manuscript (fig. 213). Problems ranging from friability to cracking, tenting, and cleavage are found in all admixtures with white including green, pink, blue, and yellow. Whereas lead white has properties that have made it useful as a drier in oil painting, in this case, when tempered with gum, glair, yolk, or other binders, those same properties may have had an adverse effect. The combination of lead white and a binder appears to have played a role in the tendency of whites and white admixtures to break down.[37]

Ink text on the verso sometimes can be seen through pigments on the recto. The iron gall ink has not suffered to the extent often found in manuscripts, but it does exhibit a tendency to crack, become friable, and flake in areas, and varies in stability from quire to quire. The ink has not corroded the parchment, but some deterioration in the iron gall ink may contribute to some areas of insecurity in illuminations. In the future the aging and deterioration of iron gall ink may become a much more serious problem, as it already is in many manuscripts.

Testing and Treatment

The twentieth-century binding was removed and the spinefolds of the *bifolia* were relaxed into plane for safe examination and treatment.[38] To determine the best material to use for stabilization of the flaking paint, aging tests were carried out and evaluated on possible materials for treatment.[39] Direct application of too much moisture to lead white causes it to expand, distort, and move, thus the desired qualities of the consolidant (adhesive material) for treatment include minimal moisture, good penetration, and adhesive ability (without altering the appearance of the original), and stability of color on aging. Experimental results showed that in general, gelatin, a material often used in conservation, had the best performance.

There are a variety of ways that flaking paint can be reattached to the support. The very small paintbrush can deliver a tiny drop of adhesive under a flake at the edge. This may be enough to relax the flake into plane and for it to dry in place. Sometimes a gentle pressure must be introduced to relax the flake and keep it in place to dry once the adhesive has been applied. If there are many loose particles, application of the adhesive by a soft mist is more appropriate so as not to disturb the particles in any way. Introduction of alcohol to the system breaks the surface tension and permits more ready penetration of the consolidant.

Treatment problems ranged from friable pigments that would be disturbed by brush application, to glazes and gold leaf that do not absorb moisture and relax with mist application. During examination under the microscope, if a small pigment particle moved, it was set in place using brush application of ethanol followed by 1 percent warm gelatin or 1 percent Klucel G in ethanol.[40] Klucel is an alternative, also well tested and used in conservation. Large areas of insecure media/pigment were treated with the ultrasonic mister. A solution of gelatin and ethanol was applied using 15 milliliters of 1 percent aqueous gelatin diluted with 5 milliliters of ethanol. In general, after the first mist had dried, a second pass and sometimes a third application of the solution were necessary in order to secure paint layers. The mist was applied just long enough for the surface to appear moist. The surface was reexamined after treatment, again using a soft brush. Small areas requiring consolidation were treated with the same solution using a nebulizer.[41]

With stabilization of the manuscript completed, attention turns to conservation concerns in exhibition, both for the current disbound state and for the future when the manuscript will once again be rebound. Aging is a natural process for all things. Research on the deterioration mechanisms with lead white is ongoing, as is the study of medieval materials and techniques.

Summary of Materials Analysis

In considering analysis, it is important to understand that samples are not taken on art as precious and small as the *Belles Heures* manuscript. Sometimes loose flakes found in the margin or a drip or a smudge can serve as a sample; however, as a rule, analysis must be nondestructive. This type of instrumental analysis carried out by scientists in the Department of Scientific Research at the Metropolitan Museum includes X-ray diffraction, Raman spectroscopy, scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM-EDS), and X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF).[42] With the exception of indigotin (the coloring agent from woad/indigo), organic dyes (used to make lakes) and binders (adhesives) have not been identified. Scientific analysis performed on the *Belles Heures* manuscript is summarized here.

Raman Spectroscopy

Quire	Folio	Color and Location	Pigment Identified
XIV	100v	Pink ground under gold leaf, border	Primarily calcium carbonate
VIII	59v	Gray ground under gold leaf, border	Primarily calcium carbonate
XXV	189v	White mordant under gold lines	Primarily white lead (main component)
XXV	185	Black ground below silver	Primarily carbon-based black
XVIII	132	Yellow lines on Christ's gold halo	Lead-tin yellow type I
XVIII	132	Orange lines on Christ's gold halo	Red lead
XVIII	132	Skin tone	White lead and vermilion
XVIII	132	Pink robe	White lead and possibly organic dye
VII	52	Sky: dark blue, medium blue	Ultramarine blue
VII	52	Sky: light blue	Ultramarine blue
VII	52	Dark blue bryony leaf in border	Ultramarine blue
VIII	59v	Gray-blue knight's armor	Indigo and white lead
XVIII	136	Dark yellow-green shirt, top center	Orpiment and indigo
XVIII	136	Light spring-yellow green grass	Indigo, lead tin yellow type I, and white lead
XVIII	136	Yellow shirt, mid-center	Lead tin yellow type I
VIII	59v	Violet throne	Ultramarine, white lead, and possibly organic red

It is possible that organic pigments are present in some of the paint passages where only inorganic components were identified, and these components are below the detection limit of in-situ Raman spectroscopy.

SEM-EDS

Quire	Folio	Color and Location	Elements Identified
IV	22v	Gesso, bole, parchment surface	Primarily calcium, probably chalk
IV	26v	Gesso, bole, parchment surface	Primarily calcium, probably chalk
IV	26v	Rose/pink drip in border	Calcium, aluminum, sulfur: suggest an organic lake
XV	109v	Rose text guideline	Calcium, aluminum, sulfur: suggest an organic lake
V	31v	Rose/pink griffin, neck	Calcium, aluminum, sulfur: suggest an organic lake
IV	23	Gold leaf	Gold, high purity, less than 1% silver and copper
V	30v	Orange deposit from griffin	Lead, possibly red lead
XI	85v	Orange flower in border, right	Lead, possibly red lead
V	30v	Blue deposit from griffin, top	Primarily sodium, aluminum, sulfur, and silicon: suggest ultramarine blue
XI	85v	Green stem, mid-right border	Large amounts of arsenic and sulfur: suggests orpiment. Also found: silicon, aluminum, potassium, and iron, suggesting an organic blue or terre verte
IV	22v	Brown text ink	Relatively large amounts of sulfur and iron along with some potassium, copper, and calcium, and a small amount of zinc. Probably iron gall ink.
XV	110v	Black	Mainly carbon and oxygen. Carbon-based black

X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (XRF)

Quire	Folio	Color and Location	Elements
VIII	54v	Red in border	Lead, possibly red lead
VIII	54v	Bright green with crackle, border	Copper-containing green
XVIII	136	Yellow shirt, mid-center	Lead and tin, most likely lead tin yellow
XXV	184v	Metallic color, church windows	Silver
XXV	185	Metallic color, sea foreground	Silver

Conclusion

The more one studies the manuscript, the more one realizes how much we still do not know. In the future it may be possible to identify organic materials, binders, and other pigments. Perhaps we may discover more about the individual Limbourg brothers and how they collaborated to achieve these extraordinary results. How wonderful that there remain unknowns and unexplored avenues for future curatorial, scientific, and conservation research. The Limbourg brothers have, in the *Belles Heures*, achieved something so exceedingly rare and beautiful that it takes our breath away. In the finest sense, this extraordinary illuminated manuscript continues to reflect light brilliantly through time, inspiring all with awe and wonder.

1. The well-known facsimile by Millard Meiss and Elizabeth Beatson, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (1974), had been out of print for quite a while and did not include full-color reproductions of every page.
2. The Museum acquired the *Belles Heures* in 1954, in a seventeenth-century binding, not the original one described in Jean de France's inventory. The seventeenth-century binding was so tight that by 1972 there was a difference of almost one-and-a-half inches in the thickness of the book at the spine and at the right margin. Because this pressure was causing damage, and the binding itself was splitting, the decision was made to have the manuscript rebound in 1972 by Deborah Evetts of the Morgan Library and Museum. The gatherings were resewn using the former collation and the old holes. This modern binding was removed in 1996 by Deborah Evetts to enable the safe handling, treatment, and photography of the manuscript.
3. The word *tempera* has had various meanings. Treatises describe the use of a variety of binders. According to Gettens and Stout 1966, pp. 69–70, "As late as the XV century this term probably included all mediums but, with the gradual prevalence of oil, its limits were narrowed until it has often meant only a medium prepared from egg. A broader definition which allows it to include albuminous, gelatinous, and colloidal materials is also in use. For specification this requires a second term, and the whole would be for example 'glue tempera,' 'gum tempera,' or 'egg tempera.'"

   At this time, it is not possible to identify the binding media in illuminated manuscripts with nondestructive analysis. Thus, the term *tempera* is being used in the broadest sense, to be all-inclusive of the wide variety of binders described as used singly, and in combination, in medieval treatises.
4. The primary visual examination of the *Belles Heures* was performed with the aid of a stereo binocular microscope, a light box, a 35 mm camera, a digital camera, and short- and long-wave ultraviolet lamps. Additional supporting documentation was supplied by digital infrared photography by Alison Gilchrest, former research associate, Sherman Fairchild Center for Works on Paper and Photograph Conservation, the Metropolitan Museum, using a Kodak DSC460IR camera and a strobe flash and X-radiographs by Charlotte Hale, conservator, Paintings Conservation, the Metropolitan Museum.
5. Treatises from the period provided essential background on materials, methods, and techniques employed at the time and aided in interpreting visual observations and scientific data. Works consulted include an anonymous fourteenth-century treatise, *De arte illuminandi* (1933 trans.); Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte* (1960 trans.); treatises by Eraclius, Petrus de S. Audemar and Alcherius, Jean Le Begue, the Bolognese, and other later manuscripts (published and translated in Merrifield 1967); *Mappae clavicula* (1974 trans.); *The Strasburg Manuscript* (1966 trans.); and Theophilus, *On Divers Arts* (1979 trans.). For an article on medieval treatises, see Gullick 1995. Valuable modern resources that describe the history and characteristics of pigments include *Artists' Pigments* 1986–97; Clarke 2001; and *Pigment Compendium* 2004.

6. The identification was confirmed by George Wheeler, research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, the Metropolitan Museum, using nondestructive open-architecture X-ray diffraction (XRD) analysis.
7. Scientific analysis was important in the identification of materials and determination of treatment options. For an article on the examination, consolidant research, and treatment of the *Belles Heures* by The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Sherman Fairchild Center for Works on Paper and Photograph Conservation, see Lawson and Yamazaki-Kleps 2002. See also Centeno et al. 2004.
8. Owing to space limitations, not all findings, details, or exceptions are described here. The focus is on sharing general observations and highlights.
9. See Dunlop 1988.
10. *De arte illuminandi* 1933, p. 10. An example of the perfection required for preparing materials is provided in a recipe for the size for laying gold. It describes grinding gesso *sottile*, letting it dry, adding staghorn's glue or parchment size, and just enough honey to taste sweet. Too much honey and it would not dry, too little and it would crack.
11. Ultramarine, from lapis lazuli, was so valuable that it was listed in Jean de France's inventory of his belongings. The following is summarized from Cennini (1960, pp. 36–39): The process of purifying the pigment was arduous, requiring grinding the stone to a powder, kneading it in lye solution with wax, pine rosin, and gum mastic, keeping linseed oil on your hands while doing this, allowing it to settle, and pouring off the residue. The first pour would be the finest ultramarine, then repeating this process as many times as desired, each subsequent pour would be of lesser quality.
12. Folium, a medieval pigment made from the turnsole plant (*Chrozophora tinctoria*), yields a purple, red, or blue color, depending on the pH. The problem with orpiment and the metal-based pigments is due to the sulfide presence.
13. Vermilion was mixed with white lead to achieve varying skin tones.
14. Organic pigments are derived from living organisms, most commonly plants. In making the organic color into a pigment it is often precipitated on a base, forming what is referred to as a "lake." Organic materials contain chemical compounds with carbon compounds with hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and other elements.
15. *De arte illuminandi* 1933, p. 54.
16. Cennini 1960, p. 102.
17. Merrifield 1967, p. 156, no. 197.
18. The pigment verdigris, most commonly a copper acetate compound, is made from the varying blue-to-green corrosion products formed on copper and/or copper alloys in the presence of organic matter such as wine, urine, or vinegar. The stability of verdigris is most likely influenced by the method of pigment preparation and the binding material used.
19. Quires are signatures (or gatherings or booklets) that are put together to form the book.
20. A folio is a single sheet of parchment. It is one-half of a folded *bifolio* or *bifolium*. A *bifolio* is equal to two leaves or four pages. A group of folded *bifolia* is put together to form a quire.
21. "Parchment" is used in this essay as the most generic term for animal skin that is prepared for writing. Traditionally "vellum" refers to calfskin and sometimes more specifically, "uterine vellum," and is used to describe examples of the finest, most delicate animal skin. "Parchment" traditionally refers to sheep- or goatskin, but the terms "parchment" and "vellum" are often used interchangeably today. The difference between parchment and leather is that parchment is not tanned.

    Parchment was made by the parchment maker. The flayed skin was washed in a stream, soaked in lime, and after several days, removed and dehaired by scraping with a knife, after which it was washed again, stretched on a frame with further scraping to even the skin, and then it was dried to form a rigid support. The stretched dry parchment was prepared for drawing and painting with pumice, chalk, or bone dust.
22. In an effort to learn more conclusively about the nature of the skin used in the *Belles Heures*, general descriptive information and photographs were provided to the expert parchment maker, Jesse Meyer of the Pergamena company in Montgomery, New York. The supporting photographic documentation included (a) transmitted light showing what appeared to be the location of the hips or shoulder of the animal on either side of the spine; (b) raking light of the distortions found in the *bifolia*; (c) photomicrographs of the veins from both the hair and flesh sides of the skin; and (d) a detail showing the distribution of hair roots.

    Following are selected questions and answers between Margaret Lawson and Jesse Meyer, excerpted from e-mail correspondence, March 2008:

    ML: *Could the transparent areas on either side of the spine correspond to the hip or shoulder of the animal?*

    JM: *You're right about the hip suggestion. Concerning the size, according to your measurements, the upper protrusions of the hip are only 2 or 3 inches apart?! [or 4—it varies—M.L.] That is one tiny animal! . . . If it is a calf, then it is a very small fetal calf.*

    ML: *As stated in the text, the skin seems most like calfskin (vellum).*

    JM: *It would be difficult for me to tell without a close examination whether it was definitely calfskin, although that would be the obvious choice since that was the majority of the animals at their disposal back then. The animal preference can also depend on where the manuscript originated. The further north you go, the more likely it would be calf as opposed to goat. (Those were the two main types used.) Sheep was used also, but it was greasy and not usually the first choice.*

    ML: *Although farming and animal size may have changed over six hundred years, is it possible to know how many* bifolia *might have been cut from one skin (given the size and location of the hips as seen in the* Belles Heures*)?*

    JM: *Assuming it is calf, and although it may be small, the location of the hips and distance between them would, I think, still make it large enough to get at least one other sheet out of the skin. More than that would be possible, although the character of the skin would change noticeably the closer to the butt or head of the animal you go.*
23. Iron gall ink is suggested by the high iron and sulfur content in SEM-EDS analysis by Mark Wypyski, research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, the Metropolitan Museum. Iron gall ink, known to have been used from late antiquity to the twentieth century, is made from oak galls or other tannin sources, water or wine, a binder, and vitriol (iron II sulfate). Although the present color of the ink is brown, iron gall ink was most likely blue-black or black during the time of Jean de France, and it has altered over the centuries. Iron gall ink was appreciated for its permanence, but it has demonstrated a very problematic tendency to corrode the paper or parchment support as it deteriorates.
24. A catchword is a word written in the margin at the end of a quire that indicates the first word on the following page (the beginning of the next quire). Catchwords aid the binder in correctly collating the quires for binding.
25. The yellow highlight fluoresces under ultraviolet light. The fluorescence suggests it is an organic yellow colorant. Examples of common yellow organic colors include weld, buckthorn, and saffron.
26. No material data confirmation is available from nondestructive scientific analysis at this time, because of the extremely small amount of material present.
27. See Farber 1980.

28. The light source is the Stocker Yale Superlight Model 18 Dual Circular Fluorescent Illuminator with ultraviolet black light bulbs, attached to the Olympus microscope. Magnification: x7 to x10. This underdrawing also appears in the digital infrared images.
29. Digital infrared photography was captured by Alison Gilchrest using a Kodak DCS460IR camera in the range of 750–1000 nanometers and a strobe light. Infrared light is the radiation with wavelengths longer than visible light (beyond red) and shorter than microwave radiation. It is a small portion of the electromagnetic spectrum. Used as a tool in art conservation, it is a way of seeing beneath the surface of paintings to study underdrawing and design changes. The longer wavelengths differentially penetrate materials, so that some layers such as reds may become transparent, whereas other materials such as carbon black will absorb the light, becoming opaque. Digital infrared photography with a strobe was selected over the traditional method of infrared reflectography in order to minimize the exposure of the *Belles Heures* to the light and heat of lamps, which would be damaging to the parchment and pigments.
30. Meiss and Beatson 1974.
31. Raman Spectroscopy by Silvia A. Centeno, research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, the Metropolitan Museum.
32. Analysis: red lead and lead tin yellow type I identified by Silvia A. Centeno, Raman Spectroscopy; red lake identification is visual.
33. Raman Spectroscopy by Silvia A. Centeno.
34. The black ground is primarily carbon-based. Raman Spectroscopy by Silvia A. Centeno.
35. XRF Spectroscopy by Silvia A. Centeno and Lisa Barro, assistant conservator, Photograph Conservation, the Metropolitan Museum.
36. For more in-depth information on the pigments, see Lawson 2005.
37. Centeno et al. 2004.
38. Spine folds were relaxed with local humidification using an ultrasonic mister, and the parchment was flattened with blotters, Plexiglas strips, and weights. This work was done by Abigail Quandt of the Walters Art Museum and Erin Loftus. An ultrasonic humidifier is adapted to vaporize water or solutions in a jar that is placed over the transducer of the humidifier. The jar has two tubes. One is connected to an aquarium pump for air pressure, and the other tube directs the mist, through a nozzle, to the precise area where humidification is necessary. See Michalski and Dignard 1997 and Dignard et al. 1997.
39. Aging tests on binders (adhesives) and binders mixed with white lead were carried out by Akiko Yamazaki-Kleps, assistant conservator, Paper Conservation, the Metropolitan Museum, using a number of samples from three groups: vegetable gums, proteinaceous adhesives, and cellulose derivatives. Binders selected for testing were those commonly used in conservation and those found in medieval treatises. Samples for the fadeometer were prepared with masked and nonmasked areas to see if they revealed any difference. Masked areas were covered with an aluminized nylon and polyethylene barrier film (Marvelseal).

    Testing parameters: Fadeometer: Atlas ci35 with a xenon lamp source. Irradiance set at 0.9W.m^{-2} at 420 nm, which corresponds to about 100,000 lux on the samples. Black panel temperature: 50°C. Wet- and dry-bulb temperatures: 32 and 22°C, respectively. Relative humidity: set at 41%. Humidity cabinet (Tabei Espec Corp. LFL-112M-U): set at 50°C and 65% R.H. Control samples were kept at 20°C, 55% R.H. Generally, the gelatin group of samples, both pure and mixed with lead white, showed the best performance regarding stability of mechanical properties and color changes. See Lawson and Yamazaki-Kleps 2002.
40. Klucel G from Hercules: hydroxypropylcellulose, a medium viscosity, nonionic cellulose ether.
41. Nebulizers, used in the medical field to deliver medication in a fine mist, are easy to set up and work almost immediately, but will not function effectively for an extended period of time. Both the nebulizer and the ultrasonic mister use the same aquarium pump. The selected pump has a dial to adjust the pressure and is capable of a little more pressure than necessary (50 Kpa at the highest setting). See Lawson 2000.
42. Raman Spectroscopy by Silvia A. Centeno; XRF spectroscopy by Silvia A. Centeno and Lisa Barro; XRD by George Wheeler; SEM-EDS analysis by Mark Wypyski.

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Margaret Lawson

Family Members of Jean de France, Duc de Berry

Time Line

Schematic Chart of Calendar Pages

Bibliography

Index

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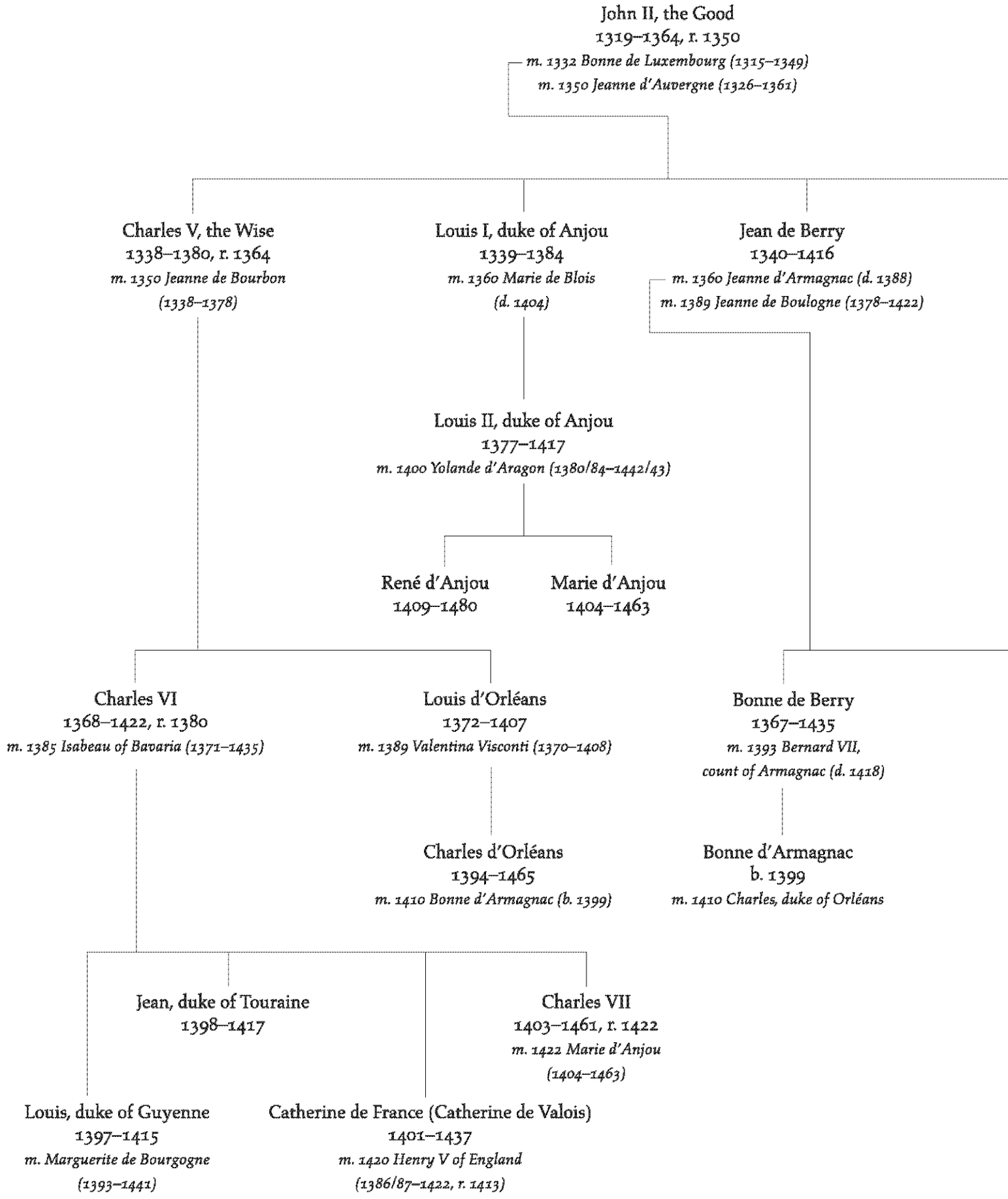
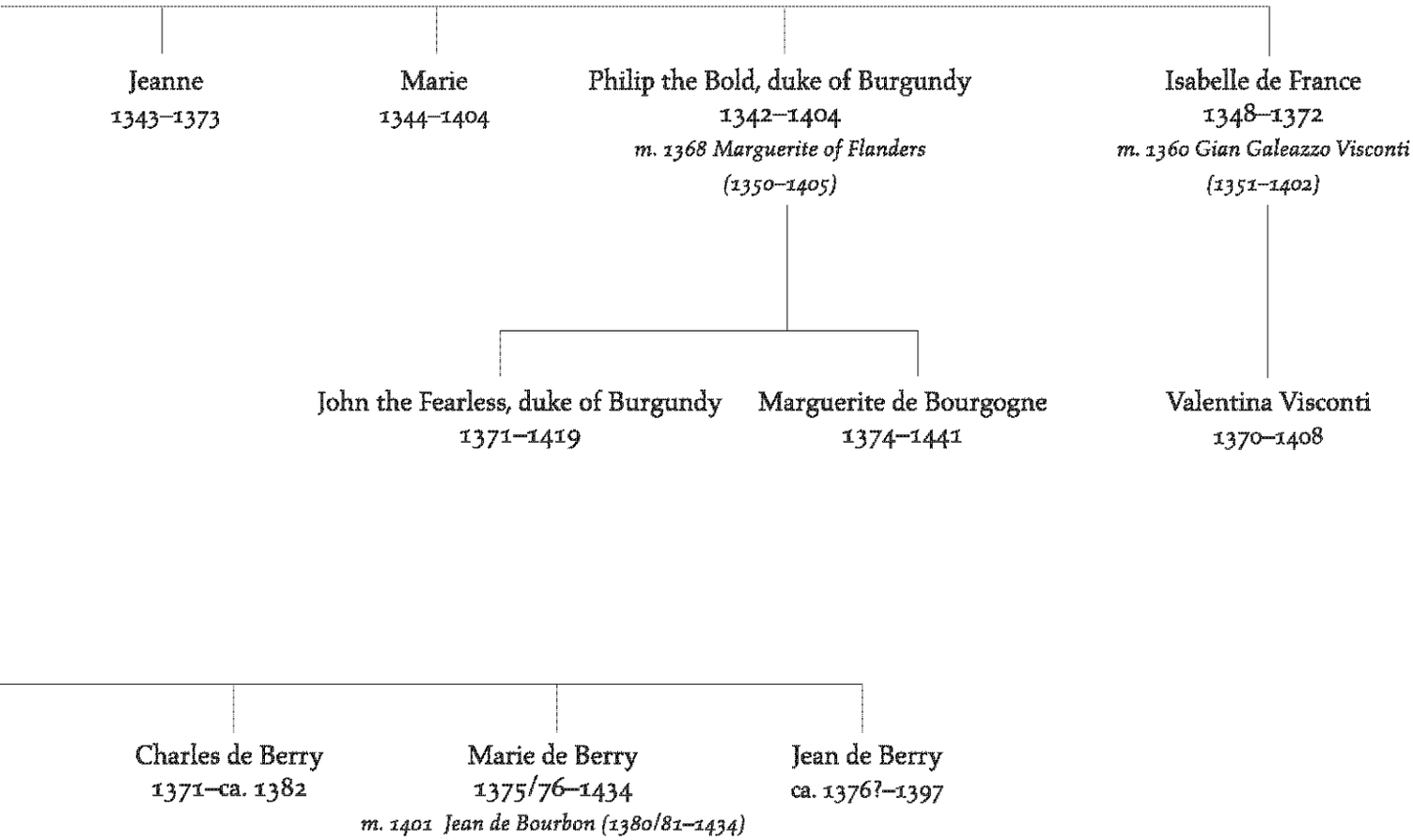

John II, the Good
1319–1364, r. 1350
m. 1332 Bonne de Luxembourg (1315–1349)
m. 1350 Jeanne d'Auvergne (1326–1361)
Charles V, the Wise
1338–1380, r. 1364
m. 1350 Jeanne de Bourbon
(1338–1378)
Louis I, duke of Anjou
1339–1384
m. 1360 Marie de Blois
(d. 1404)
Jean de Berry
1340–1416
m. 1360 Jeanne d'Armagnac (d. 1388)
m. 1389 Jeanne de Boulogne (1378–1422)
Louis II, duke of Anjou
1377–1417
m. 1400 Yolande d'Aragon (1380/84–1442/43)
René d'Anjou
1409–1480
Marie d'Anjou
1404–1463
Charles VI
1368–1422, r. 1380
m. 1385 Isabeau of Bavaria (1371–1435)
Louis d'Orléans
1372–1407
m. 1389 Valentina Visconti (1370–1408)
Bonne de Berry
1367–1435
m. 1393 Bernard VII,
count of Armagnac (d. 1418)
Charles d'Orléans
1394–1465
m. 1410 Bonne d'Armagnac (b. 1399)
Bonne d'Armagnac
b. 1399
m. 1410 Charles, duke of Orléans
Jean, duke of Touraine
1398–1417
Charles VII
1403–1461, r. 1422
m. 1422 Marie d'Anjou
(1404–1463)
Louis, duke of Guyenne
1397–1415
m. Marguerite de Bourgogne
(1393–1441)
Catherine de France (Catherine de Valois)
1401–1437
m. 1420 Henry V of England
(1386/87–1422, r. 1413)



Family Members of Jean de France, Duc de Berry

This abridged chart presents selected familial relationships of Jean de Berry, and includes figures important to the text.

Wendy A. Stein

Time Line

	Documents Pertaining to Limbourg Brothers	Manuscripts with Illuminations by Limbourg Brothers	Events
1385			*ca. 1385* Birth of Herman de Limbourg. *Ongoing since 1380* Jean de France and Philip the Bold act as regents for King Charles VI.
1386			*ca. 1386 or 1387* Birth of Paul de Limbourg.
1388			*ca. 1388* Birth of Johan/Jean de Limbourg. Death of Jeanne d'Armagnac, first wife of Jean de France.
1389			Jean de France marries Jeanne de Boulogne.
1392			Charles VI suffers his first incident of mental illness. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy are regents again.
1398			*ca. 1398* Herman and Jean de Limbourg apprentice to Alebret de Bolure, a goldsmith in Paris. *By end of 1398* Construction of Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges is completed.
1399			
1400	*May 2, 1400* A lengthy entry explains that en route home to Nijmegen from Paris about November 1399, Herman and Jean de Limbourg are held for ransom in Brussels. Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, pays for their release in May 1400.		

	Documents Pertaining to Limbourg Brothers	Manuscripts with Illuminations by Limbourg Brothers	Events
1402	*February 8–May 8, 1402* Philip the Bold hires Paul and Jean de Limbourg to "parfaire les histories d'une très belle et notable Bible" (to illuminate a very beautiful and notable Bible). *July 1402* Jean Durant, physician to Philip the Bold and supervisor of the Limbourg brothers, receives funds to buy *fin asur* (ultramarine) for use in books being made for the duke.	*1402–4* *Bible moralisée* (BNF, Ms. fr. 166)	
1403	*January 1403* Philip the Bold gives Paul and Jean de Limbourg gifts of 10 gold *écus* each, to use for clothing.	*1402–4* *Bible moralisée* (BNF, Ms. fr. 166)	Jean de France decides that Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges will be his final resting place.
1404	*January 1404* Philip the Bold pays 600 francs to Paul and Jean de Limbourg.	*1402–4* *Bible moralisée* (BNF, Ms. fr. 166)	*April 27, 1404* Death of Philip the Bold. Accession of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy.
1405		*April 18, 1405* Illumination of historiated initial for Jean de France's charter of Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, possibly by the Limbourg brothers. Now lost. *Before January 1406* *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, three miniatures by the Limbourg brothers (BNF, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093) *ca. 1405–1408/9* *Belles Heures*	
1406		*ca. 1405–1408/9* *Belles Heures*	
1407		*ca. 1405–1408/9* *Belles Heures*	*November 23, 1407* Assassination of Louis d'Orléans by agents of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy.

Time Line (continued)

	Documents Pertaining to Limbourg Brothers	Manuscripts with Illuminations by Limbourg Brothers	Events
1408	*January 1, 1408* Jean de France gives Paul de Limbourg a gold and emerald ring.	*ca. 1405–1408/9* *Belles Heures* *ca. 1408–10* Miniature on the opening folio of a manuscript with the partial text of *De dictus factisque mirabilibus* by Valerius Maximus, attributed to the Limbourg brothers (Vatican Library, Cod. reg. lat. 939, fol. 1)	John the Fearless publicly justifies the assassination of Louis d'Orléans, exacerbating Burgundian / Armagnac strife.
1410			Jean de France allies with Charles d'Orléans and Armagnac faction. Jean de France's granddaughter Bonne d'Armagnac marries Charles d'Orléans.
1411	*January 1411* The Limbourg brothers give Jean de France an *étrenne* of an imitation book.		Riots destroy Jean de France's château at Bicêtre.
1412	*February 1, 1412* Jean de France gives Paul de Limbourg a diamond ring.	*ca. 1412* The Limbourg brothers paint a leaf (*Duke of Berry Setting Off on a Trip*) for the *Petites Heures* (BNF, Ms. lat. 18014, fol. 288v). *1411/12–16* *Très Riches Heures* (Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 65)	Jean de France is declared a rebel by the French Crown, but conflict is resolved by year's end. Jean de France empties the treasury of Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges and melts down *joyaux* to raise money to pay troops.
1413	*After January 1, 1413* Jean de France gives Paul de Limbourg a diamond ring. *November 9, 1413* Jean de France gives Paul de Limbourg 100 gold *écus* for clothing.	*1411/12–16* *Très Riches Heures* (Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 65)	Cabochien insurgency in Paris. Henry V ascends the English throne.
1414	*New Year's Day 1414 or 1415* Jean de France gives diamonds to Herman, Paul, and Jean de Limbourg.	*1411/12–16* *Très Riches Heures* (Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 65)	
1415			*October 25, 1415* The English defeat the French at the Battle of Agincourt.
1416			Deaths of the Limbourg brothers and Jean de France.

Documents included name one or more of the Limbourg brothers. Manuscripts are those illuminated entirely or in part by the Limbourg brothers. Events concern the life of the Limbourg brothers and Jean de France, duc de Berry. The following abbreviation is used: BNF (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Wendy A. Stein

Schematic Chart of Calendar Pages

The text of the Calendar pages has been transcribed in boldface type exactly as it is written, except that proper names are capitalized and contractions and abbreviations are expanded. For clarity and convenience Arabic numerals indicating the days of the months have been added under the dominical letters on the same line as the modern identifiers of the saints and feasts, all in roman type. Feasts and saints' days in gold letters are underlined. The transcriptions of astrological signs are rendered in italics (for example, February is *Sol in piscibus*). The gender in *saint* and *sainte* is corrected where appropriate in the identifier line in brackets. In cases of uncertain identification, sources are given. Perdrizet 1933 (PCP) is used wherever possible, as it is based on Books of Hours of Paris usage. In cases where no identification is found in Perdrizet, Grotefend 1960 (GTZ) is used.

For an explanation of the Roman numerals and letters in the first three columns, see p. 82 above.

fol. 2

K	L		
			janvier a xxxi. jour.
			Et la lune.xxix.
iii.	**A**		**la circoncision. D[ies] eg[er]**
	1		The Circumcision
	b	**N′**	**octaves s[aint] Estie[n]ne**
	2		Stephen, octave
xi.	**c**	**N′**	**sainte Genevieve.**
	3		Geneviève
	d	**N′**	**Oct[ave]. des Innocens.**
	4		Holy Innocents, octave
xix	**e**	**Nös**	**saint Symeon.**
	5		Simeon Stylites
viii	**f**	**id′**	**la tiphanie.**
	6		Epiphany
	g	**id′**	**saint Frambont.**
	7		Frambourg of Senlis
xvi	**A**	**id′**	**saint Lucien.**
	8		Lucian
v.	**b**	**id′**	**saint Pol h[er]mite.**
	9		Paul, hermit
	c	**id′**	**saint Guille[m].**
	10		Guillaume of Bourges
xiii	**d**	**id′**	**saint Sauveur.**
	11		Saulve of Amiens
ii.	**e**	**id′**	**saint Satir**
	12		Satyrus
	f	**id′**	**saint Hylaire**
	13		Hilaire of Poitiers
x.	**g**	**kl′**	**saint Felix.**
	14		Felix of Nola
	A	**kl′**	**saint Mor**
	15		Maur

fol. 2v

xviii	b	kl′	**saint Marcel.**
	16		Marcel, pope
vii.	c	kl′	**saint Anthoine s[aint] Souplice.**
	17		Anthony, Suplice of Bourges
	d	kl′	**sainte Prisce.**
	18		Prisca of Rome
xv.	e	kl′	**saint Lomer.**
	19		Laumer of Chartres (Blois)
iiii.	f	kl′	**saint Sebastien.**
	20		Sebastian
	g	kl′	**sainte Agnes.**
	21		Agnes
xii	A	kl′	**saint Vincent**
	22		Vincent
i.	b	kl′	**sainte Emerance.**
	23		Émérence
	c	kl′	**sainte Babile.**
	24		[saint] Babylas of Antioch
ix.	d	kl′	**saint. Pol.**
	25		Paul (Conversion of)
	e	kl′	**saint Polycarpe.**
	26		Polycarp
xvii.	f	kl′	**saint Julien.**
	27		Julien of LeMans
vi.	g	kl′	**sainte Agnes.**
	28		Agnes
	A	kl′	**sainte Paule.**
	29		Paula
xiiii	b	kl′	**sainte Aldegonde.**
	30		Adelgonde of Maubeuge
iii.	c	kl′	**saint Metran.**
	31		Metran
	La	nuit	**a .xvi. heures. Le jour viii.**

fol. 3

K	L		**fevrier a xxviii. jours.**
			Et la lune xxx.
	d		**sainte Bride.**
	1		Bridget of Ireland
xi.	e	N′	**la chandeleur.**
	2		The Purification of the Virgin (Candlemas)
xix.	f	N′	**saint Blaise.**
	3		Blaise
viii.	g	N′	**saint Aventin**
	4		Aventin of Chartres
	A	Nös	**sainte Agate. Dies**
	5		Agatha
xvi.	b	id′	**saint Amant.**
	6		Amand of Maastricht
v.	c	id′	**sainte Helenne.**
	7		Helena
	d	id′	**saint Salomon.**
	8		Salomon, king of Brittany
xiii.	e	id′	**sainte Apoline**
	9		Apollonia
ii.	f	id′	**sainte Scolastique.**
	10		Scholastica
	g	id′	**saint Desier.**
	11		Désiré of Vienne
x.	A	id′	**sainte Eulalie.**
	12		Eulalia
	b	idus	**saint Lucien.**
	13		Lucien
xviii.	c	kl′	**saint Valentin.**
	14		Valentine
vii.	d	kl′.	**saint Marcel.** ***Sol in piscibus:***
	15		Marcellus

fol. 3v

	e	kl′	**sainte Julienne.**
	16		Julianna of Nicomedia
xv.	f	kl′	**saint Donace**
	17		Donatien
iiii.	g	kl′	**saint Symeon.**
	18		Simeon
	A	kl′	**sainte Susanne**
	19		Susanna
xii.	b	kl′	**saint Eleuthere.**
	20		Éleuthère of Tournai
i.	c	kl′	**saint Victor.**
	21		Victor
	d	kl′	**saint Pierre.**
	22		Peter
ix.	e	kl′	**saint Policarpe**
	23		Polycarp
	f	kl′	**saint Mathias**
	24		Matthew [PCP]
xvii	g	kl′	**saint Victorin**
	25		Victor (Victorinus)
vi.	A	kl′	**sainte Venice. D[ies] eg[er]**
	26		Veronica
	b	kl′	**sainte Honorine**
	27		Honorina
xiiii.	c	kl′	**saint Just.**
	28		Justus
			La nuit a .xiiii. heures
			Et jour.x

fol. 4

K	L		**Mars a xxxi. jour.**
			Et la lune xxx.
iii.	d		**saint Aubin. D[ies]**
	1		Aubin of Angers
	e	N′	**saint Prime**
	2		Privé (Privatus), Prime [PCP]
xi.	f	N′	**saint Maurin.**
	3		Maurin or Marin
	g	N′	**saint Andrien**
	4		Adrian
xix	A	N′	**saint Saturnin.**
	5		Sernin of Toulouse
viii	b	N′.	**sainte Felice.**
	6		Felicity of Carthage
	c	Nös	**saint Thomas d′ Aquin.**
	7		Thomas Aquinas
xvi.	d	id′	**sainte Potenciane.**
	8		Pudentiana
v.	e	id′	**saint Boutoul.**
	9		Botulph
	f	id′	**saint Alixandre.**
	10		Alexander
xiii.	g	id′	**saint Blanchart.**
	11		Blanchart or Pancrase
ii.	A	id′	**saint Gregoire.**
	12		Gregory the Great
	b	id′	**saint Lubin.**
	13		Lubin
x.	c	id	**saint Innocent**
	14		Innocent
	d	idus	**Saint Longin.**
	15		Longin

fol. 4v

xviii.	e	kl′	**saint Quiriace.**
	16		Quiriace
xii.	f	kl′	**sainte Gertrud.**
	17		Gertrude of Nivelles
	g	kl′	**saint Offren.** ***Sol i[n] ariete.***
	18		Vulfran of Abbeville (?) [PCP]
xv.	A	kl′	**saint Affradose.**
	19		Aphrodise of Béziers
iiii.	b	kl′	**saint Agapit.**
	20		Agapit
	c	kl′	**saint Benoit**
	21		Benedict
xii.	d	kl′	**saint Emeranciane.**
	22		[sainte] Emerence or Emerentiana
i.	e	kl′	**saint Theodoire**
	23		Theodore
	f	kl′	**saint Soutin.**
	24		[undetermined]
ix.	g	kl′	**La N[ost]re Dame.**
	25		Feast of the Annunciation
	A	kl′	**saint Mondaine**
	26		Mondain or Maximus
xvii	b	kl	**saint Ligier**
	27		Léger of Autun
vi.	c	kl′	**saint Ernoul. D[ies]**
	28		Arnoul
	d	kl′	**saint Eustace.**
	29		Eustase of Luxeuil
xiiii	e	kl′	**saint Riulle**
	30		Rieul of Senlis
iii.	f	kl′	**saint Maxime.**
	31		Maxime
La nuit a .xii.			**heures. Le jour .xii.**

fol. 5

K	L		**Avril a xxx. jours.**
			Et la lune. xxix.
	g		**saint Valeri.**
	1		Valéry of Luxeuil
xi.	A	N	**sainte Egipcienne.**
	2		Mary of Egypt
	b	N′	**saint Pancrace.**
	3		Pancrace
xix.	c	N′	**saint Ambroise.**
	4		Ambrose
viii	d	Nös	**sainte Yraine**
	5		Irene
xvi.	e	id′	**saint Thimothe**
	6		Timothy
v.	f	id′	**saint Macaire.**
	7		Macaire
	g	id′	**sainte Appoline**
	8		[saint] Apollinaire of Valence
xiii	A	id′	**saint Procor.**
	9		Prochorus
ii.	b	id′	**saint Gobert. D[ies]**
	10		Godobert of Angers
	c	id′	**saint Lyon.**
	11		Leo the Great
x.	d	id′	**saint Marcel.**
	12		Marcel
	e	id′	**saint Yfame.**
	13		[sainte] Eufémie
xviii	f	id′	**saint Valerien.**
	14		Valerian
vii.	g	kl′.	**saint Presme.**
	15		Prime (Primus), Presme [PCP]

fol. 5v

	A	kl′	**saint Anaclet**
	16		Anacletus or Anicetus
xv.	b	kl′	**saint Leonide.** ***Sol i[n] tauro.***
	17		Leonides of Corinth
iiii.	c	kl′	**saint Mapolice**
	18		Mappalicus
	d	kl′	**saint Profert**
	19		Perfectus
xii.	e	kl′	**saint Victor D[ies]**
	20		Victor
i.	f	kl′	**saint Symeon.**
	21		Simeon
	g	kl′	**sainte Oportune**
	22		Opportuna of Montreuil
ix.	A	kl′	**saint George.**
	23		George
	b	kl′	**saint Robert. vigille**
	24		Robert of Chaise-Dieu
xvii.	c	kl′	**saint Marc.**
	25		Mark
vi.	d	kl′	**saint Clet**
	26		Cletus, Anacletus [PCP]
	e	kl′	**saint Germain.**
	27		Germain
xiiii.	f	kl′	**saint Vital.**
	28		Vital of Ravenna
iii.	g	kl′	**saint Pierre.**
	29		Peter Martyr
	A	kl′	**saint Eutrope.**
	30		Eutrope of Saintes
		La	**nuit a. x. heures.**
		Et	**le jour. xiiii.**

fol. 6

K	L		**May a xxxi jours.**
			Et la lune xxx.
xi.	b		**saint Jaques saint Philippe.**
	1		James the Less and Philip
	c	N′	**sainte Anastaise.**
	2		Athanasius the Great
xix.	d	N′	**sainte Croys. D[ies]**
	3		Invention of the Cross
viii.	e	N′	**saint Quiriace.**
	4		Quirace of Provins
	f	N′	**saint Fortunat.**
	5		Fortunat of Poitiers
xvi.	g	Nös	**saint Jehan.**
	6		John the Evangelist
v.	A	Nös	**saint Silvain.**
	7		Silvanus
	b	id′	**saint Beath.**
	8		Beatus
xiii.	c	id′	**saint Nicholas.**
	9		Nicholas
ii.	d	id′	**saint Gordian.**
	10		Gordian
	e	id′	**saint Memert.**
	11		Mamert of Vienne
x.	f	id′	**saint Poncrace.**
	12		Pancratius
	g	id′	**saint Marcelin**
	13		Marcellianus of Auxerre
xviii	A	id′	**saint Boniface.**
	14		Boniface
vii.	b	id′.	**saint Ysidoire.**
	15		Isidore

fol. 6v

	c	kl′	**saint Honore.**
	16		Honoré of Amiens
xv.	d	kl′	**saint Ambroise.**
	17		Ambrose
iiii.	e	kl′	**saint Felix** ***Sol [in] geminis***
	18		Felix
	f	kl′	**saint Yves.**
	19		Yves of Tréguier
xii.	g	kl′	**saint Vandrille**
	20		Vandrille [PCP, May 21]
i.	A	kl′	**saint Audebert.**
	21		Aubert [PCP, May 22]
	b	kl′	**saint Emille.**
	22		Emille (Æmilius) [PCP, May 23]
ix.	c	kl′	**saint Desier.**
	23		Desiré of Langres or of Vienne
	d	kl′	**saint Donacien.**
	24		Donatian
xvii	e	kl′	**saint Urbain. D[ies]**
	25		Urban
vi.	f	kl′	**saint Augustin.**
	26		Augustine of Canterbury
	g	kl′	**saint Gerion.**
	27		Gereon
xiiii	A	kl′	**saint Germain.**
	28		Germain of Paris
iii.	b	kl′	**saint Maxime.**
	29		Maximinus of Trier
	c	kl′	**sainte Felice.**
	30		(?) [saint] Felix I [GTZ]
xi	d	kl′	**sainte Petronelle**
	31		Petronilla
	La	nuit	**a .viii. heures. Et le jour .xvi.**

fol. 7

K	L		**Juing a xxx. jours.**
			Et la lune .xxix.
	e		**saint Nicomede.**
	1		Nicomedes of Rome
xix.	f	N′	**saint Marcellin.**
	2		Marcellin
viii.	g	N′	**saint Lieffart.**
	3		Lifard of Meung
xvi.	A	N′	**saint Pontalin.**
	4		Panthalin
v.	b	Nös	**saint Boniface**
	5		Boniface of Mayence
	c	id′	**saint Ponce.**
	6		Ponce (Pontius) [PCP]
xiii.	d	id′	**saint Proiet**
	7		Procès (Procopius) (?) [PCP]
ii.	e	id′	**saint Medart.**
	8		Medard of Noyon
	f	id′	**saint Felicien.**
	9		Félicien
x.	g	id′	**saint Landri D[ies]**
	10		Landry of Paris
	A	id′	**saint Barnabe**
	11		Barnabas
xviii	b	id′	**saint Basilide**
	12		Basilides or Basille
vii.	c	id′	**sainte Fercule.**
	13		Felicola (?) [PCP] or Ferreolus [PCP, June 16]
	d	kl′	**saint Ruffin.**
	14		Rufin
xv.	e	kl′	**saint Modest.**
	15		Modeste

fol. 7v

iiii.	f	kl′	**saint Cir. D[ies]**
	16		Cire, Cyr (Quiricus)
	g	kl′	**saint Avit**
	17		Avit of Orléans
xii.	A	kl′	**saint Marine.**
	18		[sainte] Marina
i.	b	kl′	**saint Gervais.**
	19		Gervais
	c	kl′	**sainte Florance.**
	20		Florence or Florentina
ix.	d	kl′	**saint Lieffroy.**
	21		Leufred of Évreux
	e	kl′	**saint Paulin.**
	22		Paulin of Nola
xvii	f	kl′	**Vigille**
	23		Vigil of Nativity of John the Baptist
vi.	g	kl′	**saint Jehan Baptiste.**
	24		Nativity of John the Baptist
	A	kl′	**saint Eloy.**
	25		Eloy of Noyon
xiiii.	b	kl′	**saint Jehan s[aint]. Pol.**
	26		John and Paul
iii.	c	kl′	**saint Lyon.**
	27		Leo II
	d	kl′	**saint Lyon. vigille.**
	28		Vigil of Leo II
xi.	e	kl′	**saint Pierre saint Pol**
	29		Peter and Paul
	f	kl′	**saint Marcial.**
	30		Martial of Limoges
		La	**nuit a. vi. heures**
		Et	**le jour. xviii.**

fol. 8

K	L		**juillet a xxxi. jour.**
			Et la lune. xxix.
xix	g		**saint Tibaut**
	1		Theobald
viii.	A	N′	**saint Proces**
	2		Processus
	b	N′	**saint Appolin.**
	3		Appolin
xvi.	c	N′	**saint Martin.**
	4		Martin of Tours
v.	d	N′	**saint Dominique**
	5		[sainte] Dominique
	e	N′	**Oct[ave]. saint Pierre s[aint] Pol.**
	6		Peter and Paul, Octave
xiii.	f	Nös	**saint Thomas.**
	7		Thomas of Canterbury
ii.	g	id′	**saint Claude**
	8		Claude
	A	id′	**saint Zenon.**
	9		Zeno
x.	b	id′	**les. vii. freres.**
	10		The Seven Brothers
	c	id′	**saint Benoit.**
	11		Benoit (Benedict) of Nursia
xviii	d	id′	**saint Sist**
	12		Sixtus
vii.	e	id′	**saint Ruffin D[ies]**
	13		Rufin (?)
	f	id′	**saint Vaast.**
	14		Vaast (Vedast) of Arras
xv.	g	id′	**saint Florentin.**
	15		Florent (Florentius)

fol. 8v

iiii	A	kl′	**saint Alexis**
	16		Alexis
	b	kl′	**saint Piat.**
	17		Piat of Tournai
xii.	c	kl′	**saint Nicaise.** ***Sol i[n] leone***
	18		Nicaise of Reims
i.	d	kl′	**saint Just.**
	19		[sainte] Justa
	e	kl′	**sainte Margarete**
	20		Margaret of Antioch
ix.	f	kl′	**sainte Praxede.**
	21		Praxède (Praxedis)
	g	kl′	**la Magdalaine.**
	22		Mary Magdalen
xvii	A	kl′	**S[aint] Appolinaire.**
	23		Apollinaris of Ravenna
vi.	b	kl′	**sainte Crestine.**
	24		Christina
	c	kl′	**saint Jaques s[aint] Chr[ist]ofle**
	25		James the Great and Christopher
xiiii.	d	kl′	**saint Marcel.**
	26		Marcel of Paris
iii.	e	kl′	**les vii. dormans.**
	27		The Seven Sleepers
	f	kl′	**sainte Anne.**
	28		Anne
xi.	g	kl′	**sainte Marthe.**
	29		Martha
xix	A	kl′	**saint Abdon.**
	30		Abdon
	b	kl′	**saint Germain.**
	31		Germain of Auxerre
La nuit		**a.**	**viii. heures Le jour. xvi.**

fol. 9

K	L		**Aoust a xxxi. jour.**
			Et la lune.xxx.
viii.	c		**saint Pierre. D[ies]**
	1		Peter "in chains"
xvi.	d	N′	**saint Estienne.**
	2		Stephen
v.	e	N′	**saint Estienne.**
	3		The invention of Stephen
xiii.	f	N′	**saint Osonant.**
	4		Osanne (Osmanna) of Jouarre
	g	Nös	**saint Yon.**
	5		Yon (Jonius) of Corbeil
ii.	A	Nös	**saint Cist**
	6		Sixtus II
	b	id′	**saint Donat.**
	7		Donatus of Arezzo
x.	c	id′	**saint Justin.**
	8		Justin
	d	id′	**saint Romain.**
	9		Romanus of Rome
xviii.	e	id′	**saint Lorens**
	10		Lawrence
vii.	f	id′	**la Sainte Coronne**
	11		The Crown of Thorns
	g	id′	**sainte Clere.**
	12		Clare
xv.	A	id	**sainte Ypolite.**
	13		Hippolytus
iiii.	b	kl′	**Vigille.**
	14		Vigil of the Assumption
	c	kl′	**L[′] Asompcion N[ost]re Dame.**
	15		The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin

fol. 9v

xii.	d	kl′	**saint Omer.**
	16		Omer
i.	e	kl′	**octaves saint Lorens.**
	17		Lawrence, octave
	f	kl′	**saint Agapit. *Sol i[n] virgine.***
	18		Agapitus
ix.	g	kl′	**saint Grant.**
	19		Magnus
	A	kl′	**saint Bernart.**
	20		Bernard
xvii.	b	kl′	**saint Prime.**
	21		Privat of Mende
vi.	c	kl′	**saint Syphorien.**
	22		Symphorien of Autun
	d	kl′	**saint Thimotin.**
	23		Timothy
xiiii.	e	kl′	**saint Berthelemy.**
	24		Bartholomew
iii.	f	kl′	**saint Loys.**
	25		Louis IX
	g	kl′	**saint Abondin.**
	26		Abundius
xi .	A	kl′	**saint Ruffin.**
	27		Rufus
xix.	b	kl′	**saint Augustin.**
	28		Augustine
	c	kl′	**saint Jehan.**
	29		Beheading of John the Baptist
viii	d	kl′	**saint Fiacre. D[ies]**
	30		Fiacre of Meaux
	e	kl′	**saint Paulin.**
	31		Paulinus of Trier

La nuit a.x. Heures. Le jour.xiiii.

fol. 10

K	L		**Septembre a xxx. jours.**
			Et la lune xxx.
xvi.	f		**saint Leu.saint Gille**
	1		Loup of Sens, Gilles
v.	g	N′	**saint Anthoinne**
	2		Anthony
	A	N′	**saint Godegran D[ies]**
	3		Grodegrand, Chrodegang of Séez
xiii.	b	N′	**saint Marcel.**
	4		Marcellus of Trier
ii.	c	Nös	**saint Victorin**
	5		Victorinus
	d	id′	**saint Donacien.**
	6		Donatian
x.	e	id′	**saint Cloust**
	7		Cloud
	f	id′	**La N[ost]re Dame.**
	8		Nativity of the Blessed Virgin
xviii	g	id′	**saint Gorgone.**
	9		Gorgonius of Rome
vii.	A	id′	**saint Vemesin.**
	10		Venant (?) [PCP, September 13]; Nemesianus [PCP]
	b	id′	**saint Maurilion.**
	11		Maurille of Angers
xv.	c	id′	**saint Syre.**
	12		Cyrus
iiii.	d	id′	**saint Nicomede**
	13		Nicomedes
	e	kl′	**sainte Croys.**
	14		Exultation of the Cross
xii.	f	kl′	**saint Prothin.**
	15		Prothin (Protus) [GTZ, PCP, September 11]

fol. 10v

i.	g	kl′	**sainte Eufamie.**
	16		Eufemia
	A	kl′	**saint Lambert.**
	17		Lambert
ix.	b	kl′	**saint Ferreol**
	18		Ferréol of Vienne
	c	kl′	**saint Signe.**
	19		Seine (Sequanus)
xvii.	d	kl′	**Vigille**
	20		Vigil of Matthew
vi.	e	kl′	**saint Mahieu D[ies]**
	21		Matthew
	f	kl′	**saint Morisce.**
	22		Maurice
xiiii	g	kl′	**saint Cecle**
	23		Thecla
ii.	A	kl′	**saint Felix.**
	24		Felix
	b	kl′	**saint Fremin**
	25		Firmin of Amiens
xi.	c	kl′	**saint Ciprien.**
	26		Cyprian
	d	kl′	**saint Cosme.**
	27		Cosmas
xix.	e	kl′	**saint Presme.**
	28		Presme, Proisme, Primus
viii	f	kl′	**saint Michiel.**
	29		Michael
	g	kl′	**saint Jeroime**
	30		Jerome
		La	**nuit a. xii. heures**
		Et	**le jour. xii.**

fol. 11

K	L		**Octobre a xxxi. jour.**
			Et la lune. xxx.
xvi	A		**saint Remi**
	1		Remi of Reims
v.	b	N′	**saint Ligier**
	2		Léger of Autun
xiii.	c	N′	**saint Victor.**
	3		Victor
iii.	d	N′	**saint Francoys. D[ies]**
	4		Francis of Assisi
	e	N′	**sainte Crestine.**
	5		Christine
x.	f	N′	**sainte Foy.**
	6		Foy
	g	Nös	**saint Marc.**
	7		Mark
xviii	A	id′	**saint Demettre.**
	8		Demetrius
vii.	b	id′	**saint Denis**
	9		Denis of Paris
	c	id′	**saint Gerion.**
	10		Gereon
xv.	d	id′	**la traslacion s[aint]. Augustin.**
	11		Translation of Augustine
iiii.	e	id′	**saint Venant**
	12		Venantius [PCP, September 13]
	f	id′	**saint Curien.**
	13		Curien, Quirinus [PCP, September 12]
xii.	g	id′	**saint Calixte.**
	14		Calixtus
i.	A	id′	**saint Offram.**
	15		Osan

fol. 11v

	b	kl′	**saint Lucien.**
	16		Lucian
ix	c	kl′	**saint Cerbon.** ***Sol i[n] scorpione.***
	17		Cerbonius
	d	kl′	**saint Lucas.**
	18		Luke the Evangelist
xvii.	e	kl′	**saint Savinien.**
	19		Savinien
vi.	f	kl′	**saint Capraise.**
	20		Caprasius
	g	kl′	**Les xi. mille vierges**
	21		The Eleven Thousand Virgins
xiii.	A	kl′	**saint Malou D[ies]**
	22		Mellonus of Rouen
iii.	b	kl′	**saint Severin.**
	23		Severin of Cologne
	c	kl′	**saint Magloire.**
	24		Magloire of Dol
xi.	d	kl′	**saint Crespin.**
	25		Crispin
xix	e	kl′	**saint Amant.**
	26		Amandus
	f	kl′	**Vigille**
	27		Vigil of Simon and Jude
viii	g	kl′	**saint Symon saint Jude.**
	28		Simon, Jude
	A	kl′	**saint Narcis.**
	29		Narcissus of Jerusalem
xvi.	b	kl′	**saint Lucain**
	30		Lucanus
	c	kl′	**saint Quentin. vigille.**
	31		Vigil of Quentin and All Saints
La nuit	**a.**	**xiiii.**	**heures. Et le jour .x.**

fol. 12

K	**L**		**Nouembre a.xxx.jours.**
			Et la lune xxx.
	d		**la Tous Sains.**
	1		All Saints
xlii.	e	N′	**les mors.**
	2		All Souls
ii.	f	N′	**saint Marcel.**
	3		Marcel of Paris
	g	N′	**saint Cler**
	4		Clair of Vexin
x.	A	Nös	**saint Lye. D[ies]**
	5		Lié of Pithiviers
	b	id′	**saint Lienart**
	6		Léonard of Noblac
xviii	c	id′	**saint Herculain.**
	7		Herculan of Pérouse
vii.	d	id′	**les.iiii.coronnes.**
	8		The Four Crowned Martyrs
	e	id′	**saint Mathelin.**
	9		Mathurin of Larchant
xv.	f	id′	**saint Verain.**
	10		Véran of Cavaillon
iiii.	g	id′	**saint Martin.**
	11		Martin of Tours
	A	id′	**saint Leonin.**
	12		Léonien of Vienne
xii.	b	idus	**saint Brice.**
	13		Brice of Tours
.i.	c	kl′	**saint Eugene.**
	14		Eugenius of Toledo or Florence
	d	kl′.	**saint Maclou.**
	15		Malo (Maclou)

fol. 12v

ix.	**e**	**kl′**	**saint Fustin.**
	16		Faustus (?)
	f	**kl′**	**saint Amant**
	17		Amandus
xvii.	**g**	**kl′**	**sainte Aude.**
	18		Aude
vi.	**A**	**kl′**	**sainte Elizabeth**
	19		Elizabeth
	b	**kl′**	**saint Emont.**
	20		Edmund
xiiii	**c**	**kl′**	**saint Columbain.**
	21		Columban
iii.	**d**	**kl′**	**sainte Cecile.**
	22		Cecilia
	e	**kl′**	**saint Climent**
	23		Clement
xi.	**f**	**kl′**	**saint Grisogone.**
	24		Chrysogone
xix.	**g**	**kl′**	**sainte Katherine.**
	25		Catherine
	A	**kl′**	**sainte Genevieve.**
	26		Geneviève
viii	**b**	**kl′**	**saint Vital.**
	27		Vitalis
	c	**kl′**	**saint Ruffin. D[ies]**
	28		Rufus (Rufinianus) of Rome
xvi.	**d**	**kl′**	**saint Saturnin. vigille**
	29		Vigil of Sernin of Toulouse and Andrew
v.	**e**	**kl′**	**saint Andri.**
	30		Andrew
		La	**nuit a xvi. heures**
		Et	**le jour viii.**

fol. 13

K	**L**		**Decembre a xxxi.jour**
			Et la lune xxix.
	f		**saint Eloy.**
	1		Éloi of Noyon
xiii.ii.	**g**	**N′**	**saint Flam.**
	2		Flaive, Flavy, Flavitus [PCP]
	A	**N′**	**saint Claudrien**
	3		Claudrien, Claude, Claudius [PCP]
x.	**b**	**N′**	**sainte Barbe.**
	4		Barbara
	c	**Nös**	**saint Ambroise.**
	5		Ambrose
xviii	**d**	**id′**	**saint Nicholas**
	6		Nicholas
vii.	**e**	**id′**	**sainte Faire. D[ies]**
	7		Fara of Meaux
	f	**id′**	**la N[os]tre Dame.**
	8		Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary
xv.	**g**	**id′**	**saint Ciprien**
	9		Cyprian
iiii.	**A**	**id′**	**saint Nicaise.**
	10		Nicaise of Reims [PCP, December 12]
	b	**id′**	**saint Fuscien.**
	11		Fuscien of Amiens
xii.	**c**	**id′**	**saint Corentin**
	12		Corentin of Quimper
i.	**d**	**id′**	**sainte Luce.**
	13		Lucy
	e	**kl′**	**saint Nicaise.**
	14		Nicaise of Reims [PCP, December 12]
ix.	**f**	**kl.**	**saint Maximin.**
	15		Maximinus

fol. 13v

	g	kl′	**sainte Sapience**
	16		Sapience, Sapientia [PCP]
vii	A	kl′	**saint Ladre**
	17		Lazare of Marseilles
vi.	b	kl′	**saint Gratien.** ***Sol*** **[*i*]*n capri***
	18		Gatian of Tours
	c	kl′	**saint Avit. cornu.**
	19		Avit, Avitus [GTZ]
xiiii.	d	kl′	**saint Emille**
	20		Emille, Ammon [PCP]
iii.	e	kl′	**saint Thomas.**
	21		Thomas
	f	kl′	**saint Victor. D[ies]**
	22		Victor [PCP]
xi.	g	kl′	**saint Bertin.**
	23		Bertin
xix	A	kl′	**Vigille**
	24		Vigil of Nativity of Christ
	b	kl′	**le jour de Noel.**
	25		Nativity of Christ
viii.	c	kl′	**saint Estienne.**
	26		Stephen
	d	kl′	**saint Jehan.**
	27		John the Evangelist
xvi.	e	kl′	**les innocens**
	28		Holy Innocents
v.	f	kl′	**saint Thomas.**
	29		Thomas à Becket
	g	kl′	**saint Columbain.**
	30		Columban
xiii.	A	kl′	**saint Selvestre.**
	31		Silvester

La nuit a xviii. heures. Et le jour.vi.

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Index

Illustrated folios are listed by the title of either the miniature or section of the manuscript. Titled folios are from the *Belles Heures*, unless otherwise indicated.

Page numbers in *italics* indicate illustrations of the subject indexed. Page numbers in **boldface** indicate the main description and text for the miniature indexed.

abbreviations used in ms., *63*
Absalom, David Flees from (Psalm 142) (fol. 72), **134, 135**
acanthus foliage, *42, 43, 61, 63, 64, 112, 222, 323, 330*
Adam and Eve: *Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man*, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 25v), *292, 294, 311, 320, 322*; Ghent Altarpiece *Eve* (Jan van Eyck, 1432), *320, 322*; *Temptation of Adam*, in *Bible moralisée* of Philip the Bold (fol. 3v), *294, 295*
Adoration of the Cross (fol. 93), *61*, **152, 153**, *329*
Adoration of the Magi: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 54v), *65, 76*, **122, 123**, *339*; Gentile da Fabriano (Italian, 1423), *315, 316*; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 52), *315, 316*
Adoration of the Trinity; Creation, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 225), *39, 41*
Saint Agatha (fol. 179), **213**
Saint Agnes: on *Royal Gold Cup*, 20; in Suffrages (fol. 177), **212**
Agony in the Garden (fol. 123), *67, 78n7*, **168, 169**, *310*
Alebret de Bolure, 280
All Saints, Mass for (fols. 218–220v), *76, 94*, **258, 259**
All Souls, Mass for (fols. 221–222v), *61, 76*, **260, 261**
altarpieces: Buxtehude Altarpiece, 290; Crucifixion, Altarpiece of (Melchior Broederlam, Netherlandish, 1411, Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon, Inv. CA 1420), *286–88, 288*; Ghent Altarpiece (Jan van Eyck, 1432), 320; Saint Denis, Altarpiece of (Johan Maelwael, finished by Henri Bellechose, 1416), 288
Altichiero, *311*
Saint Ambrose: with Saint Augustine (fol. 41), *23*, **115**; in Suffrages (fol. 172), **206, 207**
Amiens relic of Saint John the Baptist, *254–56, 256*
Andrea da Firenze, *295, 297*
Saint Andrew (fol. 160), **192, 193**
angels: *An Angel Destroys the Enemy of David* (Psalm 6) (fol. 66), *67*, **130, 131**; *Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to Mount Sinai* (fol. 20), *77*, **104, 105**, *275*; *Angels Destroy the Wheel of Knives* (fol. 18v), **102, 103**; *Saint Catherine Tended by Angels* (fol. 17v), **100, 101**; *End of the Plague* (fol. 74), **139**, *291*; *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Master of the Rebel Angels), *296–98, 299*; *Fall of the Rebel Angels with God and the Heavenly Host*, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 64v), *296, 299*; *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (fol. 209), *66, 67, 76*, **250, 251**; *Saint Michael*, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 158), *61*, **190, 191**; *Saint Michael over Mont Saint Michel*, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 195), *291, 292, 296–98*; *Resurrection of Christ* (fol. 198), *76*, **242, 243**; underdrawing of (fol. 27), *69, 110, 330*
Angers Apocalypse (tapestry series, French, 15th century), *17*
Annunciation: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 30), *42, 43, 63–64, 64, 75*, **112, 113**, *268, 282, 283, 322, 323*; by Barthélemy d'Eyck (Netherlandish, completed by 1444), *320, 323*; in *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (fol. 16), *282, 283*; Master of Charles of France (pos. Jean de Laval), ms. miniature, 1465 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection, acc. no. 58.71a, b), *30n27*; in Master of the Brussels Initials Book of Hours (Bolognese, ca. 1406–7, British Library, Add. ms. 29433), *64, 73n18, 73n22*; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 2), *282, 283*; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 26), *65*
Annunciation to the Shepherds: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 52), *67, 68*, **120, 121**, *290, 310, 319, 322, 337*; Buxtehude Altarpiece, 290; in *Friel Hours* (ca. 1425, private collection, fol. 76), *319, 322*
Saint Anthony the Hermit: in *Belles Heures* (*See* Saints Paul and Anthony cycle); *Invocation of the Spirits; Saint Anthony and the Satyr*, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 240), *39, 41, 230*
Saint Anthony of Padua Stills a Storm (fol. 170), *61*, **202, 203**
Saint Anthony's fire (ergotism), *230*
Les antiquités judaïques, Flavius Josephus, *71*
Apostle Head (statue) from Mehun-sur-Yèvre, attrib. André Beauneveu, *17*
Apostles (stained glass), from Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges, attrib. André Beauneveu, *13*
The Apostles Disperse, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 162), *285, 287*
April: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 5), *68, 71*, **84, 86**; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 4v), *316, 316–19, 321, 323n7*
Aquarius (January) (fol. 2), **82, 83**
Aracoeli (Altar of Heaven) (fol. 26v), **110, 111**
architecture: in *Belles Heures* illuminations, *266, 268–71, 285, 307, 307–8*; Jean de Berry, patronage of, *12–16, 12–17*
Aries (March) (fol. 4), **84, 86**
Aristotle, *23*
arsenic, yellow sulfide of, *325*
artistic achievements of Limbourg brothers, *307–23*; architecture, use of, *266, 268–71, 285, 307, 307–8*; calendar pages of *Très Riches Heures*, *316–18, 316–21, 323*; construction of pictorial space, *307–10, 307–11, 312*; emotional complexity, *313–14*; landscape, use of, *266–68, 276, 285, 307–11, 309–10*; legacy of, *321–23*; light, handling of, *312*; painterly technique, *312, 312–13, 325, 326, 334, 334–35*; palette, *271, 272–74, 311–12*; pictorial cycles as vehicle for development of, *265–67*; reduced landscapes and architectural settings, *266–71, 285, 307–8, 308–9*. *See also* pictorial cycles; sources and influences
Ascension, Mass for Feast of (fols. 199v-201v), *76*, **242, 243**, *327*
Ascension of Christ (fol. 199v), *76*, **242, 243**
Assumption of the Virgin: (fol. 88), **146, 147**; (fol. 91), **148, 149**
Audebert de Catin, *35*
August: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 9), **88, 89**; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 8v), *317, 319, 321, 323n7*
Saint Augustine: with Saint Ambrose (fol. 41), *23*, **115**; in Suffrages (fol. 172v), **206, 207**
Augustus (Roman emperor): *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* (fol. 26v), **110, 111**; Jean de Berry's interest in, *19, 186*
Author Portrait of Valerius Maximus (Limbourg brothers, ca. 1408–10, in *De dictus factisque mirabilibus*, by Valerius Maximus; Vatican Library Cod. reg. lat. 939, fol. 1), *41, 43, 348*
Avanzi, Jacopo, *298, 300, 310*
Avril, François, *xi*

Baptism of Christ: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 211v), *76, 77*, **254, 255**, *307, 311, 312*; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 162), *285, 286*
Baptism of Hermogenes, Fresco, Chapel of Saint Felice, Saint James, Santo, Padua (Jacopo Avanzi, ca. 1377–79), *298, 300*
Baptist Master, *45n45, 45n49, 285, 286*
Saint Bartholomew (fol. 161), *265*
Saint Bartholomew, Martyrdom of (fol. 161), **194, 195**
Bartolo, Taddeo di, *292–95, 293*
Bataille, Nicolas, *17*
bâtarde script, *63*
bear as personal device of Jean de Berry, *14, 30n14*
Beatson, Elizabeth Home, *x, 92n1, 332*
Beauneveu, André, *13, 17, 26, 29, 44n26*
beheadings
  Saint Catherine (fol. 19v), **104, 105**, *267, 267–68, 291*
  Saint Cecelia (fol. 180), *69*, **214**
  Empress Faustina (fol. 18), **100, 101**
  Saint John the Baptist: *Beheading of* (fol. 212), **254, 255**; feast of Nativity rather than Decollation celebrated, **252**; *Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist* (fol. 212v), *76, 77*, **252, 254–56, 256**, *265, 314*
  Porphyrius, in Saint Catherine cycle (fol. 19), *69, 72*, **102, 103**, *314*
  Saint Lucy (fol. 179v), **213**, *291, 344*
Bellechose, Henri, *288*
Belles Heures of Jean de France, duc de Berry (Limbourg brothers, Paris, ca. 1405–1408/9, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection, 1954, 54.1.1), *x–xii, 3–9, 4*; attribution of, *x–xi, xiin6, 6, 41–43*; bindings of, *viii, 9n27, 336, 339n2*; collation of, *56–57*; commissioning of, *x, 3, 4, 6, 41–43*; condition and conservation of, *60, 325, 335–36*; contents and structure of, *5, 25–26, 47–55*; dating of, *3, 6, 25, 42, 75, 347–48*; decorative program of, *4, 44*; history of manuscript, *6–8*; influences on, *26*; major studies of, *x*; pictorial cycles (*See* pictorial

cycles); production of (*See* production of *Belles Heures*); representations of duc de Berry in, *27, 29*; significance of, vii, *4, 6*; sources for and influences on (*See* sources and influences); time line for, 346–48. *See also* specific folios by title, e.g., *Annunciation*, and specific sections, e.g. Hours of the Virgin
Saint Benedict (fol. 175), **210**
Saint Benoît, cameos from reliquary bust of, 18
Saint Bernard (fol. 175v), **210, 211**
Berry, duc de. *See* entries at Jean de France, duc de Berry
Bertram Master, 290
Bétizac (official of duc de Berry), 11
Betrayal of Christ: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 123v), **170, 171**, 272, 282, *284*; *Taking of Christ*, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 181), 282, *284*
Bible Historiale or *Hystorians*, 36–37
Bible moralisée: of John II the Good (John de Montmartre, Paris, 1349–1352, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 167), 3, 26, 36, *280*, 281–82, 347; of Philip the Bold (Limbourg brothers, French-Netherlandish, begun 1402, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 166), viii, xi–xii, 3–4, 8n10, 26, 34, 36–37, 75, *281*, 282, 291, *294*, 295, 311; as type of illustrated Bible, 3, 36
Bible of John de Sy Master, 26
Bicêtre, château of, 17
binding media for pigments, *326*, 326–27, 339n3, 341n39
bindings of *Belles Heures*, viii, 9n27, 336, 339n2
Birth of Saint John the Baptist (Jan van Eyck), in *Turin-Milan Hours*, ca. 1424 (fol. 93v), *38*
Black Crosses, 136
black pigments, 334, 338
Blanche of Burgundy (1335–40), 26, 31n71
blank folios: fol. 20v (rulings), 48, 77; fol. 21v (faint offset of missing *Saint John* from fol. 22), 48, 64, 75; fol. 28v (lack of offset from missing *Saint John* indicating when blank wrapper was added), 48, 75; fol. 29, 75; fol. 29v (faint offset of *Annunciation*), 48, 75, *328*; fol. 79 (rulings), *60*; fol. 93v (pricked marks, rulings), *329*
blue pigments, 325, 334, 336, 337, 338, 340n11, 340n18
Bobillet, Étienne, 14
Boccaccio, 23
Boethius, 23
Bonne d'Armagnac (granddaughter of Jean de Berry), 323n8, 344
Bonne de Luxembourg (queen of France) (mother of Jean de Berry), 11, *25*, 26, 344
books of hours, 3, 5–6
borders, 63–73, *64–72*; abandoned in *Très Riches Heures*, *65*; acanthus foliage, 43, 61, 63, 112, 222, 323, 330; artists producing, *70*, 71–73, *72*, 77–78, 330; bryony vines and leaves, 65, 67, 69, 71, 80, 82, 84, 94, 142, 174, 325, 330; correspondence on recto and verso, 67–68, 330, 335; "garden spiral" design, 67, *68*, *69*; progressive simplification of, 65; rinceaux, 64, 328, 330; sequence of production, 77–78; "threaded pots" design, 67; type I, 63–65, *64*; type II, 65–67, *66–69*, *71*; type III, 67–69, *70–72*, *71*
Boucicaut Master, *309*, 309–10
Bourges, palace, Galerie du Cerf, and Sainte-Chapelle of, *12*, *13*, 22, *36*, 38–39
Bourlier, Pierre-Gabriel, baron d'Ailly, 6, 9n19
breviaries, 5
Broederlam, Melchior, 286–88, *288*
brown pigments, *334*, 335
Saint Bruno. *See* Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and Carthusian Order cycle
brushes, *327*
Brussels Initials Master, *64*, 73n18, 73n22–23, 190, 214n1
bryony vines and leaves, 65, 67, 69, 71, 80, 82, 84, 94, 142, 174, 325, *330*
buildings, Jean de Berry as patron of, *12–16*, 12–17
Buxtehude Altarpiece, 290

Cabochiens, 12, 17
Caiaphas, Christ Before (fol. 124), **170, 171**, 270–71, *271*, 272, 307
calendar pages, in *Belles Heures* (fols. 2–13), 5, **82–92, 83, 85–91, 93**; borders, 67, 68, 77, 78; collation of, 56; diapered designs and punchwork patterns, 325, 334; gold leaf in, 330, 334; Julian and Gregorian calendars, 82; Müntz on, 292; Roman calendrical system, 82; rubrics, 62; rulings, 60, 329; schematic chart of, 349–61; in sequence of production, 75; in structure of *Belles Heures*, 47; vellum or parchment of, 60. *See also* specific pages, by month
calendar pages, in *Très Riches Heures*, 310, *316–18*, 316–21, 323. *See also* specific pages, by month
cameos, Jean de Berry's fondness for, 17–18
Cancer (June) (fol. 7), **84, 87**
canonical Hours. *See* entries at Hours
Capricorn (December) (fol. 13), **92, 93**
Carrying of the Cross: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 138v), 75, **176, 177**, 282, *285*, 291, 311; in *Bible moralisée* of Philip the Bold (fol. 7v), 311; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 203), 282, *285*; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 147), 310, 311, 314
Carthusian Order. *See* Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and Carthusian Order cycle
catchwords, 63, 75–76, 329
Catherine de France (queen of England), 12, 344
Saint Catherine of Alexandria cycle (fols. 15–20), **94–104, 95–97, 99, 101, 103, 105**; *Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to Mount Sinai* (fol. 20), 77, **104, 105**, *275*; *Angels Destroy the Wheel of Knives* (fol. 18v), **102, 103**; *Beheading of Porphyrius* (fol. 19), 69, 72, **102, 103**, *314*, *335*; borders, 69; *Saint Catherine Cast into Prison* (fol. 16v), **98, 99**, 307, *308*; *Saint Catherine Confounds the Learned* (fol. 16), **97**, *271*, 276, 314; *Saint Catherine in Her Study* (fol. 15), 67, 77, **94, 95**, *268*, 268–69, 307, *308*, 322, 323; *Saint Catherine is Beheaded* (fol. 19v), **104, 105**, 267, 267–68, 291, 312, *328*, *335*; *Saint Catherine Refuses to Worship the Idol* (fol. 15v), 77, **96**, 190, 274, *276*; *Saint Catherine Tended by Angels* (fol. 17v), **100, 101**; *Saint Catherine Tied to a Column* (fol. 17), **98, 99**, *270*, 322; choice of subject matter, reasons for, **94**, 265; continuity of imagery in, *274–76*, *275*, *276*; *Empress Faustina is Beheaded* (fol. 18), **100, 101**; landscape and architecture in, *267*, 267–71, *268*, *270*, *271*, 307, *308*; sequence of events in, 276, 277n6; structure and sequence of production, 48, 56, 75, 77, 78; "surprise" image in, *275*, *276*
Saint Catherine of Alexandria (gold and gemwork figure), *20*, 22
Catherine of Bavaria-Holland, 279
Catilinarius ms., Sallust (Orosius Master, Paris, ca. 1418, private collection), 292–95, *294*
Cazelles, Raymond, 44
Saint Cecelia (fol. 180), 69, **214**
A Cemetery (fol. 99), **164, 165**
Cennini, Cennino, 326
chalk, 338
Champeaux, Alfred de, *14*, 33
Saint Charlemagne (fol. 174), 67, **208, 209**
Charles IV (king of France), 304n18
Charles V the Wise (king of France) (brother of Jean de Berry), 11, 20, 22, 26, 37, 40, 59, 104, 216, 304n18, 344
Charles VI (king of France) (nephew of Jean de Berry), 11–12, 20, 21, 22, *29*, 30, 35, 282, 304n18, 344
Charles VII (king of France) (great-nephew of Jean de Berry), 14, 322, 344
Charles of France, Master of (pos. Jean de Laval), 30n27
Charles d'Orléans (great-nephew of Jean de Berry), 12, 323n8, 344
Chosroes, king of the Persians, 188
Christ among the Doctors, Master of the Parement de Narbonne, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 62), *23*
Christ, Ascension of (fol. 199v), 76, **242, 243**
Christ, Baptism of: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 211v), 76, **77, 254, 255**, 307, *311*, 312; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 162), 285, *286*
Christ Before Caiaphas (fol. 124), **170, 171**, 270–71, *271*, 272, 307
Christ Before Pilate (fol. 135v), **174, 175**
Christ, Betrayal of: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 123v), **170, 171**, 272, 282, *284*; *Taking of Christ*, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 181), 282, *284*
Christ Carrying the Cross. See entries at *Carrying of the Cross*
Christ, Death of: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 145v), **180, 181**; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 153), 291
Christ, Deposition of. See Deposition
Christ, Entombment of. See Entombment of Christ
Christ Led to Judgment, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol.143), *314*
Christ Leaving the Praetorium, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 146v), 314
Christ, Mocking of: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 131v), **172, 173**, 269, 272, 288, *289*, 338; Franco-Netherlandish painting, early 15th century, 288, *289*
Christ Nailed to the Cross (fol. 141v), **178, 179**, *332*
Christ Offered the Sop (fol. 142), **178, 179**
Christ Pierced with a Lance (fol. 145), **180, 181**
Christ, Pilate's Offer to Release (fol. 136): fol. 136, **174, 175**, 337, 339
Christ, Resurrection of (fol. 198), 76, **242, 243**
Christ, Temptation of, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 161v), *16*, 17
Christine de Pisan, 23, 42
Christmas Mass (fols. 195–198), 67, 76, **240, 241**
Saint Christopher (fol. 165), **199**
Christ's Presentation in the Temple (fol. 57), 65–67, *66*, **124, 125**, 286
chronology, 346–48
Saint Clement Cast into the Sea (fol. 163v), **196, 197**
Colenbrander, Herman Th., 45n62
collation of *Belles Heures*, 56–57
Colombe, Jean, 8n10, 154, 323n7
condition and conservation of *Belles Heures*, 60, 325, 335–36
Constance Missal *(Missale speciale)*, pr. Johann Meister, Basel, 1473 (J. Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, PML 45545), 8, 9n29
Constantine (Roman emperor), 18, 19, 186, *290*
Coronation Workshop Book of Hours (Paris, 1402, Morgan Library & Museum, New York, M.515), 67, *69*
Corpus Christi Mass (fols. 205v-207v), 76, **248, 249**, *331*

correspondence on recto and verso, 67–68, 330, *335*
Courtier Smelling a Flower (April) (fol. 5), 68, *71*, **84, *86***
cracking and flaking problems, 325, 335–36, *336*
Creation; Adoration of the Trinity, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 225), *39*, *41*
croix aux camées (cross with cameos), 18
Cross: *Adoration of the Cross* (seven prayers invoking the Incarnation and Passion) (fol. 93), 61, **152, *153***, *329*; Hours of the Cross (fols. 80–83v), 5, 40, 50, 56, 60, 67, 69, 76–78, **142–44, *143***, 168, *333*; Long Hours of the Cross (*See* Hours of the Passion); True Cross (*See* entries at Heraclius and the True Cross)
Cultivating Vines (March) (fol. 4), **84, *86***

Damietta, Saint Louis before (fol. 173), *7*, 334
Dammartin, Drouet de, 17
Dammartin, Guy de, 17
David (king of Israelites): *An Angel Destroys the Enemy of David* (Psalm 6) (fol. 66), *67*, **130, *131***; *David Beseeches God* (Psalm 101) (fol. 70), **134**; *David Beseeches God* (Psalm 129) (fol. 71v), **134, *135***; *David Flees from Absalom* (Psalm 142) (fol. 72), **134, *135***; *David Is Rebuked by the Prophet Nathan* (Psalm 50) (fol. 68v), **132, *133***; *David Makes an Offering to God* (Psalm 31) (fol. 66v), **132**, *336*; *David Transfixed by Arrows* (Psalm 37) (fol. 67v), **132, *133***
David-Weill, Michel, vii
De dictus factisque mirabilibus, Valerius Maximus, author portrait by Limbourg brothers (ca. 1408–10; Vatican Library Cod. reg. lat. 939), *41*, *43*, 348
De Hamel, Christopher, 44n1
de la Mar, Christophe, 35
Dead, Office/Hours of (fols. 99–121), *5*, *51*, *56*, *59*, *60*, *63*, *67*, *69*, *70*, *72*, *76*, *77*, **164–67, *165***, *337*, *338*
Death of Saint Anthony (the hermit) (fol. 194v), **238, *239***
Death of Christ: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 145v), **180, *181***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 153), *291*
Death of Saint Jerome (fol. 189), **226, *227***
Death of Saint Paul (the hermit) (fols. 193–1934v), **234–36, *235*, *237***
Death of Simon Magus (fol. 215), *66*, *67*, *76*, **256, *257***
December: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 13), **92, *93***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 64v), *300*, *301*, *323*
Delisle, Léopold, 6, 33
Saint Denis and His Companions, Martyrdom of (fol. 166v), ***199***
Deposition
  in *Belles Heures:* Hours of the Cross *(Descent from the Cross)* (fol. 80), *67*, **142, *143***, *333*; Hours of the Passion (fol. 149), **182**, *295*, *296*
  Orsini Polyptych (Simone Martini, Italian, 2nd quarter of 14th century), *295*, *296*
  in *Très Belles Heures of Jean de France* (p. 194), *295*, *296*
  in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 156v), *295*, *297*
Descent from the Cross. See Deposition
Dialogues of Pierre Salmon (Mazarine Master, Paris, 1409, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 23279), *29*, *30*
diapered designs, *325*, *334*
digital infrared photography, *331–32*, *331–33*, *339n4*, *341n28–29*
Diocrès. *See* Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and Carthusian Order cycle
Diptych of the *Duke Presented to the Virgin by Saints*, in *Très Belles Heures* (pp. 10–11), *25*, *27*, *29*
Divine Office. *See* entries at Hours
Dog (drawing, northern Italian, end 14th century), *301*
Dogs and Stag, in *Model Book of Giovannino de' Grassi* (Italian, ca. 1380–1400, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo, Cassaf., 1.21, fol. 15), *301*
dogs, Jean de Berry's fondness for, *19*
dragons: *Saint Anthony Seeks the Hermitage of Saint Paul* (fol. 191v), **232, *232***; *Saint George Slaying the Dragon* (fol. 167), *65*, *67*, **200, *201***; grotesques in margins and initials, *62*, *63*, *67*, *70*, *71*; *Saint Margaret Emerging from the Dragon* (fol. 177), **211**; *Saints Paul and Anthony Are Fed by a Dove* (fol. 192v), **234, *235***; *Procession of the Flagellants* (fol. 74v), **140, 141**, *307*
Duchess (Jeanne de Boulogne) in Prayer (fol. 91v), **150, 151**
Duke of Berry. *See* entries at Jean de France, duc de Berry
Durand de Champagne, *23*
Durant, Jean, *34*
Dürer, Albrecht, *302*
Durrieu, Paul, *33*, *40*, *304n34*

Easter Sunday Mass (fols. 198–199v), *76*, **242, *243***
eclipse of the sun, *180*, *291*
Edward III (king of England), *11*
Edward the Black Prince, *11*
Edward, earl of Rutland, *59*
The Effects of Good Government in the Country, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (fresco, 1338–40, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena), *315*, *316*
Saint Eleutherius, *199*
Elevation of the Host (fol. 205v), *76*, **248, *249***, *331*
emotional complexity of Limbourg works, *313–14*
End of the Plague (fol. 74), *291*
Entombment of Christ: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 152), **184, *185***, *296*, *298*; Orsini Polyptych (Simone Martini, Italian, 2nd quarter of 14th century), *296*, *298*; in *Petites Heures* of Jean Le Noir (fol. 94v), *23*
ergotism (Saint Anthony's fire), *230*
errors in text, *63*
étrennes (New Year's gifts), *20*, *21*, *21–22*, *24*, *35*
Saint Eustace Loses His Sons (fol. 164v), *33*, **198, *199***, *285*, *286*, *310*
Eve. *See* Adam and Eve
Evetts, Deborah, *329n2*
ex libris (fol. 1), *47*, *56*, *75*, **80, *81***
Exultation of the Cross: Heraclius cycle/Suffrages (fol. 157), *40*, *41*, *67*, *77*, **190, *191***, *265*, *266*, *334*; Mass (fol. 207v), *76*, **248, *249***
d'Eyck, Barthélemy, *8n10*, *300*, *301*, *321*, *322–23*, *323*
van Eyck brothers, *33*
Eyck, Jan van, *38*, *40*, *190*, *320*, *322*, *323*

Fabriano, Gentile da, *315*, *316*
fabric interleaving to protect miniatures, *328*
Faits et dits memorables, Valerius Maximus (Virgil Master Workshop, 1401, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 282), *67*, *68*, *71*
Falconing (May) (fol. 6), *60*, **84, *87***
Fall of the Rebel Angels (Master of the Rebel Angels, follower of Simone Martini, Italian, ca. 1340–45), *296–98*, *299*
Fall of the Rebel Angels with God and the Heavenly Host, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 64v), *296*, *299*
Farber, Allan, *330*
Faustina (Roman empress), **100, *101***. *See also* Catherine of Alexandria cycle
February: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 3), **84, *85***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 2v), *311*, *312*, *313*, *318*, *319–21*, *323n3*, *323n7*
Feeding Pigs (November) (fol. 12), **90, *91***
Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (fols. 88–91v), *29*, *50*, *56*, *62*, *76*, *77*, **146–51, *147*, *149*, *150***
Flagellants, Procession of (fol. 74v), **140, 141**, *307*
Flagellation: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 132), **172, *173***, *269–70*, *270*, *272*, *282*, *284*, *301–2*, *312*, *337*; in "Jacques Daliwe" *Sketchbook* (fol. II a), *301–2*, *302*; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 197), *282*, *284*, *312*
flaking and cracking problems, *325*, *335–36*, *336*
Flamel, Jean, and ex libris, *24*, *35*, *47*, *56*, *75*, **80, *81***
Flavius Josephus, *Les antiquités judaïques*, *71*
flesh vs. hair side of vellum, *327*, *335*
Flight into Egypt: in Belles Heures (fol. 63), *43*, *44*, *67*, **128, *129***, *286–88*, *289*, *302–3*, *308–10*, *309*; Giotto (fresco, 1303–5, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua), *302–3*, *303*, *309*; in *Hours of the Maréchal Boucicaut* (90v), *309*, *309–10*; Turret-shaped shrine with infancy scenes, Mosan or Southern Netherlands, ca. 1390–95, *288–89*, *289*
Fra Angelico, *333*
France ancien arms, *64*, *67*
Saint Francis Receives the Stigmata (fol. 171), *67*, **204, *205***
Free Library of Philadelphia, Ms. Widener 5, *323n9*
Fremin de Revelle, *59*, *61*
Friel Hours (ca. 1425, private collection), *319*, *322*
Froissart, Jean, *17*, *31n39*, *35*

Gaddi, Taddeo, *292*, *293*, *314*
Galerie du Cerf, palace of Bourges, *12*, *13*
Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 25v), *292*, *294*, *311*, *320*, *322*
"garland spiral" borders, *67*, *68*, *69*
Gauchery, Paul, *14*, *33*
Gemini (May) (fol. 6), *60*, **84, *87***
gemstones, Jean de Berry as patron of, *17*
Saint Geneviève (fol. 181), **214, *215***
Saint George Slaying the Dragon (fol. 167), *65*, *67*, **200, *201***
Ghent Altarpiece (Jan van Eyck, 1432), *320*
gilding, *327*, *330*, *333*, *333–34*
Giotto, *292*, *302–3*, *303*, *309*, *314*, *333*
Gisant of Jean de Berry (sculpture), Jean de Cambrai and successors, *14*, *26*, *29*
glair, *326*
Göring, Hermann, *9n26*
gold ink and gold leaf, *327*, *330*, *333*, *333–34*
The Golden Legend, *94*, *98*, *136*, *180*, *188*, *190*, *192*, *200*, *202*, *214*, *216*, *220*, *226*, *232*, *236*, *277n6*
Goldenes Rössl (gold and gemwork *joyau*), *21*, *22*, *312*
Gorissen, Friedrich, *33*
Gospel readings, in *Belles Heures* (fols. 22–24), *26*, *42*, *49*, *56*, *68–69*, *75–77*, **106–8, *107*, *109***, *338*
Gothic *bâtarde* script, *63*
Grande Chartreuse. *See* Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and Carthusian Order cycle
Grandes Heures (Jacquemart de Hesdin and Workshop, Paris, ca. 1407–9, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 919), *24*, *25*, *29*, *29–30*, *40*, *42*, *45n50*
Grassi, Giovannino de', Model Book of (Italian, ca. 1380–1400, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo, Cassaf., 1.21), *300*, *301*, *304n52*
Great Litany. *See* Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great
green pigments, *65*, *325*, *326*, *339*, *340n18*

Gregorian calendar, 82
Saint Gregory I the Great (pope). *See* Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great
Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, 220, 221
grisaille painting, 26
Guelders Armorial (Wapenboek Gelre), 279, 280
Guiffrey, Jules, 23
Guillaume de Machaut, 23
Guillaume de Ruilly, 20, 38
gum arabic, 326

hair vs. flesh side of vellum, *327*, *335*
halali du sanglier, *300*, 301
halos, *333*, 333–34
Hamel, Christopher de, 8
Harvesting Wheat (July) (fol. 8), *60*, ***88***
Heavenly Hosts (fol. 218), *76*, 94, ***258***, ***259***
Henri d'Orléans, duke of Aumale, *33*, 44n1
Henry IV (king of England), *12*
Henry V (king of England), *12*
Heraclius and the True Cross: medals commemorating, *19*, *186*, *290*; *Story of Emperor Heraclius*, in *Roman de Godfroi de Bouillon* (1337. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22495, fol. 9)
Heraclius and the True Cross cycle, in *Belles Heures* (fols. 156–157), ***186***; choice of subject matter, reasons for, *19*, ***186***, *265*; collation, *57*; *Exultation of the Cross* (fol. 157), *40*, *41*, *67*, *77*, ***190***, ***191***, *265*, *266*, *334*; *Heraclius enters Jerusalem* (fol. 156v), ***188***, ***189***, *265*, *266*, *290*; *Heraclius Returns with the Cross* (fol. 156), ***188***, ***189***, *190*; in sequence and structure of production, *52*, *75–78*, *265*
Heroes (tapestry series. South Netherlandish, 1400–1410), *17*, *18*
Het Valkhof, 279
Heynenzoon, Claes, 279
Histoire ancienne jusqu'a César (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 301, and British Library, Royal 20 D.I. 9), *59*
Historiated Initial with Jean de Berry and Canon (lithographic copy after lost miniature by Limbourg brothers for charter of Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, 1405), *36*, *38–39*, *347*
Hitler, Adolf, 9n26
Holbein, Hans, the Younger, *26*, *27*, *29*
Holy Spirit, Hours of (fols. 84–87v), *5*, *40*, *50*, *56*, *67*, *69*, *76*, *78*, ***142***, ***144–46***, ***145***, *338*
Holy Spirit Master, *39*, *40*, 45n49, *285*, *286*, *287*, 305n56
Holy Spirit, prayers to (fols. 155–155v), *52*, *76*, *144*, ***186***, ***187***
Holy Thorn Reliquary (gold and gemwork), *20*
Holy Trinity. *See* entries at Trinity
Hôtel de Nesle, Paris, *12*, *15–17*, *16*
Hours, as devotional practice, *5–6*
Hours of the Cross (fols. 80–83v), *5*, *40*, *50*, *56*, *60*, *67*, *69*, *76–78*, ***142–44***, ***143***, *168*, *333*
Hours (Office) of the Dead, in *Belles Heures* (fols. 99–121), *5*, *51*, *56*, *59*, *60*, *63*, *67*, *69*, *70*, *72*, *76*, *77*, ***164–67***, ***165***, *337*, *338*
Hours of the Holy Spirit, in *Belles Heures* (fols. 84–87v), *5*, *40*, *50*, *56*, *67*, *69*, *76*, *78*, ***142***, ***144–46***, ***145***, *338*
Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux (Jean Pucelle, Paris, before 1328, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection, 1954, 54.1.2), *6*, *8*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *282*, *283*, 304n18
Hours of the Maréchal Boucicaut (Boucicaut Master, ca. 1408, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, Ms. 2), *309*, *309–10*
Hours of the Passion, in *Belles Heures* (fols. 123–152v), *51–52*, *57*, *60*, *63*, *67*, *76*, *77*, ***168–84***, ***169***, ***171***, ***173***, ***175***, ***177***, ***179***, ***181–83***, ***185***, *272*, *282*, *307*. *See also* specific illuminations, e.g., *Christ Before Caiaphas*
Hours of the Virgin: in *Belles Heures* (fols. 30–65v), *xi*, *4*, *49*, *56*, *60*, *62*, *63*, *65*, *67*, *75*, *76–78*, ***112–28***, ***113***, ***115***, ***116***, ***118***, ***121***, ***122***, ***125***, ***126***, ***129***, *272*, *282*, *302–3*, *322*, *338* (*See also* specific illuminations, e.g., *Annunciation*); in books of hours generally, *5–6*
Hugh of Châteauneuf, bishop of Grenoble. *See* Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and Carthusian Order cycle
Hundred Years' War, *11*
Hunting Scene, in *Model Book of Giovannino de' Grassi* (Italian, ca. 1380–1400, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo, Cassaf., 1.21, fol. 17), *300*, 301

illuminated manuscripts: Jean de Berry as patron of, *17*, *20*, *22–26*, *23–26*; of Limbourg brothers, *36–44*. *See also* specific mss., e.g., *Belles Heures*
Incarnation and Passion, seven prayers invoking (fols. 92–93), *50*, *56*, *61–62*, *77*, ***152***, ***153***, *329*
indigo and indigotin, *336*, *337*
influences on Limbourg brothers and *Belles Heures*. *See* sources and influences
initials, illuminated, *63*
ink, *61*, *329*, *336*, *338*, 340n23
Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great (fols. 73–74v), ***136–41***, ***137–40***; choice of subject matter, reasons for, *265*; collation, *56*; *End of the Plague* (fol. 74), ***139***, *291*; *Great Litany Procession* (fol. 73v), *77*, ***138***; *Institution of the Great Litany* (fol. 73), ***136***, ***137***; plague, relationship to outbreak of, *136*, *265*; *Procession of the Flagellants* (fol. 74v), ***140***, ***141***, *307*; in structure and sequence of production, *49*, *75–78*, *265*
inventories of Jean de Berry's holdings, *3*, *6*, *18*, *19*, *20–21*
Invocation of the Spirits; Saint Anthony and the Satyr, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 240), *39*, *41*, *230*
iron gall ink, *61*, *329*, *336*, *338*, 340n23
Isabeau of Bavaria (queen of France), *12*, *22*, *34*, *279*
Italian models and sources, *291–98*, *292–301*, *303*, *314–16*, *315*; direct Italian sources, *295–98*, *296–300*; Giotto, *292*, *302–3*, *303*, *309*, *314*, *333*; indirect Italian models, *291–95*, *292–94*; model books and pattern books, *300–302*, *301–2*; possibility of Limbourg brothers' trip to Italy, *34*, *43*, 44n17, *292–95*, 304n34
Itinerary of the Duke (Duke of Berry and Entourage Set Off on a Journey), Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (lost illumination), *29*, *41*

Jacopo de Voragine, *94*
Jacquemart de Hesdin, *24*, *25*, *29*, *43*, 45n50, *295*, *296*, *301*
"Jacques Daliwe" *Sketchbook* (Franco-Flemish, ca. 1380–1416, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Liber Picturatus A 74), *301–2*, *302*, 305n56
Saint James the Greater, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 160v), ***194***, *265*, *266*
Saint James, Martyrdom of, Jacopo Avanzi (fresco, 1376–77, Chapel of Saint James, Basilica of Saint Anthony, Padua), *310*, *311*
January: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 2), ***82***, ***83***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 1v), *17*, *27*, *28*, *29*, 323n7
Jean L'Avenant, 45n43
Jean I, duc de Bourbon, *319*
Jean de Cambrai, *13–15*, *14*, *29*
Jean de France, duc de Berry, *11–31*; abduction of Gillette de Mercière by, *35*; bear as personal device of, *14*, 30n14; birth and death of, *6*, *11*, *12*, *265*, 277n2; buildings of, *12–16*, *12–17*; cameos and gemstones of, *17–18*; character of, *18*, *19*, *29–30*, *35*; children of, 30n2, *319*, *345*; dogs and other animals of, *19*; *étrennes* (New Year's gifts), *20*, *21*, *21–22*, *24*, *35*; genealogy and family relationships, *11*, *344*; generosity of, *19*, 31n39, *34–35*; inventories of, *20–21*; *joyaux* of, *19–20*, *22*; *libraires* of, *24*, *59*; library of, *17*, *20*, *22–26*, *23–26*, *226*; Limbourg brothers, as patron of, *x*, *3*, *4*, *6*, *34–35*; manuscripts of, *17*, *20*, *22–26*, *23–26*; medals of, *18–19*, *19*, *290*; as prince of France, *11–12*; Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges (*See* Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges); tapestries of, *17*, *18*, *21*, *28*; time line for, *346–48*; tomb of, *13–15*, *14*, *26*, *29*.
Jean de France, duc de Berry, representations of, *26–30*, *27–29*; *Duke of Berry and Entourage Set Off on a Journey (Itinerary of the Duke)*, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (lost illumination), *29*, *41*; *Duke of Berry in Prayer* (fol. 91), *29*, ***148***, ***149***; *Duke of Berry on a Journey*, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 223v), *27*, *41*, ***252***, ***262***, ***263***, *327*; *Duke of Berry Setting Off on a Trip*, in *Petites Heures* (fol. 288v), *25*, *27*, *41*, *43*; Dyptich of *Duke of Berry Presented to the Virgin by Saints*, in *Très Belles Heures* (pp. 10–11), *25*, *27*, *29*; *Gisant of Jean de Berry* (sculpture), Jean de Cambrai and successors, *14*, *26*, *29*; Holbein portrait, *26*, *27*, *29*; *January*, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 1v), *17*, *27*, *28*, *29*, 323n7; Limbourg brothers' lost portrait, copy of, *11*, *27*; *Saint Peter Welcomes Duc de Berry at the Gates of Heaven*, in *Grandes Heures* (fol. 96), *29*, *29–30*; in *Salmon Presents His Manuscript to Charles VI*, in *Dialogues* of Pierre Salmon (fol. 53), *29*, *30*; sculpture head orig. from Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges, *29*
Jean de Laval, 30n27
Jean de Liège, *288*
Jean de Marville, *13*
Jean II Le Meingre, Maréchal Boucicaut, *309*
Jean Le Noir, *23*, *25*, *26*, *43*, *59*
Jean d'Orléans, *23*, *29*, *40*, *282*
Jean Pucelle, *6*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *43*, *59*
Jeanne d'Armagnac (1st wife of Jean de Berry), *11*, 30n1
Jeanne de Boulogne (2nd wife of Jean de Berry), *11*, *15*, *29*, 30n1, *94*, ***150***, ***151***
Jeanne d'Évreux (queen of France), 304n18. *See also* *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*
Jehan le Moustardier, *59*
Saint Jerome cycle (fols. 183–189v), ***216–29***, ***217***, ***219***, ***221***, ***223***, ***225***, ***227***, ***228***; continuity of images in, *273–74*, *274*; *Death of Saint Jerome* (fol. 189), ***226***, ***227***; *Saint Jerome Contemplates the Holy Sepulchre* (fol. 185v), ***222***, ***223***, *279*, *298*, *334*; *Saint Jerome Extracts a Thorn from the Lion's Paw* (fol. 186v), xi, ***224***, ***225***, *273–74*, *274*, *312*, *313*, *frontispiece*; *Saint Jerome in a Woman's Dress* (fol. 184v), ***220***, ***221***, *313–14*, *339*; *Saint Jerome Is Ordained a Cardinal* (fol. 184), ***218***, ***219***, *273*; *Saint Jerome is Tempted by Dancing Girls* (fol. 186), ***222***, ***223***; *Saint Jerome Leaves Constantinople* (fol. 185), ***220***, ***221***, *334*, *337*, *339*; *Saint Jerome Studying Classical Philosophers* (fol. 183), ***216***, ***217***, *226*, *269*, 277n3, *313*, *314*; *Saint Jerome Translating the*

Bible (fol. 187v), *42*, *43*, **226**, **227**; *Saint Jerome's Dream* (fol. 183v), *132*, **218**, **219**, *273*, *333*, *334*; *The Lion Finds the Missing Ass* (fol. 187), **224**, **225**, *273–74*, *274*, *311*; palette in, *273–74*; Saints Paul and Anthony, link to, *230*; reduced architecture in, *269*; rubrics in, *62*; *The Sick Attending the Funeral of Saint Jerome* (fol. 189v), **228**, **229**, *311*, *333*, *334*, *337*; structure and sequence of production, *54*, *57*, *75–78*
Jerusalem: *Heraclius enters Jerusalem* (fol. 156v), **188**, **189**, *265*, *266*, *290*; *Saint Jerome Contemplates the Holy Sepulchre* (fol. 185v), **222**, **223**, *279*, *298*, *334*
John II the Good (king of France) (father of Jean de Berry), *3*, *11*, *26*, *36*, *280*, *281*
John the Baptist Master, *45n45*, *45n49*, *285*, *286*
John of Bavaria, *40*
John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy (nephew of Jean de Berry), *12*, *252*, *263*, *345*
John de Montmartre, *36*
John de Sy, Master of the Bible of, *26*
Saint John at the Foot of the Cross, in *Linen Weavers' Missal* (fol. 149v), *289–90*, *290*, *301*, *344*
Saint John on Patmos, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 17), *34*, *296*
Saint John the Baptist, Birth of (Jan van Eyck, in *Turin-Milan Hours*, ca. 1424, fol. 93v), *38*
Saint John the Baptist cycle (fols. 211–212v), *61*, **252–56**, **253**, **255**, **256**; Amiens relic and, **254–56**, **256**; choice of subject matter, reasons for, **252**, *265*; collation, *57*; *Saint John Baptizes Christ* (fol. 211v), *76*, *77*, **254**, **255**, *307*, *311*, *312*; *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (fol. 211), *67*, *76*, **252**, **253**, *265*; *Saint John the Baptist is Beheaded* (fol. 212), **254**, **255**; Mass celebrating nativity of (fols. 212v–214v), **252**, **254–56**, **256**; *Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist* (fol. 212v), *76*, *77*, **252**, **254–56**, **256**, *265*, *314*; structure and sequence of production, *55*, *75–78*, *265*
Saint John the Baptist (Suffrages of the Saints) (fol. 158v), **192**, **193**
Saint John the Evangelist (Gospel reading, fol. 21, now lost), *64*, *75*, **106**, *328*
Saint John the Evangelist (Suffrages of the Saints) (fol. 159), **192**, **193**
Joinville, Jean de, *206*
Josephus, *Les antiquités judaïques*, *71*
joyaux, *19–20*, *22*, *216*
Julian calendar, *82*
July: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 8), *60*, ***88***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 7v), *15*, *16*, *323*
June: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 7), **84**, ***87***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 6v), *16*, *17*, *323*

A King and Attendants in Prayer (fol. 88), **146**, ***147***
Kirsch, Edith W., *x*
Kneeling Persian (statue, Roman copy of Greek original), *292*, *294*, *295*
König, Eberhard, *x*

Lamentation: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 149v), **182**, ***183***, *286*, *287*, *313*, *332*, *333*; in *Grandes Heures* (fol. 77), *24*
Lancelot du Lac, *23*, *24*
landscapes, *266–68*, *276*, *285*, *307–11*, *309–10*
Saint Lawrence, Martyrdom of (fol. 162v), ***196***
Lawson, Margaret, *vii*, *69*, *325*
lead pigments, *325–26*, *334–35*, *337–39*
Lebourne, Jean, *21*
Leduc, Yvonnet, *61*
Leo (July) (fol. 8), *60*, ***88***
Libra (September) (fol. 10), **88–90**, ***89***, *333*, *334*
libraires, *59*, *73n2*
library of Jean de Berry, *17*, *20*, *22–26*, *23–26*, *226*
light, handling of, *312*
Limbourg, Arnold (brother), *33*, *36*, *44n11*
Limbourg brothers (Herman, Paul, and Jean), *33–45*; attribution of *Belles Heures* to, *x–xi*, *xiin6*, *6*, *41–43*; Bicêtre, Paul at château of, *17*; Bourges, Paul's house at, *17*, *35*; early deaths of, *xi*, *3*, *36*, *44*; *étrennes* exchanged with Jean de Berry, *22*, *35*; evolution as illuminators, *xi–xii*, *4*, *44*; family origins in Nijmegen, *33*; Italy, possible trip to, *34*, *43*, *44n17*, *292–95*, *304n34*; Jean de Berry as patron of, *x*, *3*, *4*, *6*, *19*, *34–35*; lives and careers of, *33–36*, *279–81*; lost portrait of Jean de Berry said to be by, *11*, *27*; manuscripts illuminated by, *36–44*, *347–48*; Nijmegen property of, *35–36*; origins of, *x*; *Petites Heures*, single illumination in, *25*, *27*, *41*, *43*, *348*; rediscovery of, *33*; time line for, *346–48*; *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, three illuminations in, *25*, *39*, *41*, *347*; *Très Riches Heures*, illuminations in, *43–44*, *348*; Valerius Maximus portrait, *23*, *41*, *43*, *348*; youth of, *8n2*. *See also* artistic achievements of Limbourg brothers; sources and influences
Limbourg, Greta (sister), *33*, *36*
Limbourg, Rutger (brother), *33*, *44n11*
Linen Weavers' Missal (Utrecht, ca. 1400, Stadsbibliotheek, Haarlem, Ms. 184C2), *289–90*, *290*, *301*
Litany of the Saints (fols. 75–77v), *5*, *49*, *56*, *76*, *77*, ***141***. *See also* Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great
littera textualis, *328*, *329*
Little Office of the Virgin Mary. *See* Hours of the Virgin
Lives of the Fathers, *226*
Livy, *23*
Long Hours of the Cross. *See* Hours of the Passion
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *302*, *315*
Louis IX (king of France; Saint Louis): *Saint Louis before Damietta* (fol. 173), *7*, **206**, ***207***, *334*; Sainte-Chapelle of, *13*, *22*
Louis, duke of Anjou (brother of Jean de Berry), *11*, *17*
Louis, duke of Guyenne, *12*, *17*, *64*, *344*
Louis d'Orléans (nephew of Jean de Berry), *12*, *22*, *23*, *27*, *252*, *263*, *344*
Luçon Master Book of Hours (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W. 231), *73n17*
Saint Lucy, Beheading of (fol. 179v), **213**, *291*, *344*
Saint Luke (fol. 23), **107**, *338*
Lusignan, château of, *17*
Lymborch, Arnold de (father), *33*, *279*
Lymborgh, Johannes de (grandfather), *33*

Madonna and Child with Two Angels (fol. 209), *66*, *67*, *76*, **250**, *251*
Maelwael, Herman (great-uncle of Limbourg brothers), *279*, *280*, *282*
Maelwael, Johan (uncle of Limbourg brothers), *33*, *34*, *279–80*, *286*, *287*, *288*
Maelwael, Mechteld or Metta (mother of Limbourg brothers), *33–34*, *44n15*, *279*
Maelwael, Willem (grandfather of Limbourg brothers), *279*
Magi: Adoration of (*See Adoration of the Magi*); *Meeting of the Magi*, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 51v), *26*, *290*, *291*
Magnificat: Hours of the Virgin (fols. 62–62v), *62*, *63*, *67*, *75*, **127**; Office of the Dead (fol. 101), **166**
magnification, Limbourg brothers' use of, *x*
Man Warming His Hands (February) (fol. 3), **84**, ***85***
manuscripts. *See* illuminated manuscripts, and also specific mss., e.g. *Belles Heures*
Map of Rome: in ms. of Sallust's *Catilinarius* (Orosius Master, Paris, ca. 1418, private collection), *292–95*, *294*; by Taddeo di Bartolo, fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, *1413–14*, *292–95*, *293*; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 141v), *292–95*, *293*, *304n39*
March: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 4), **84**, ***86***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol 3v), *17*, *323*
Saint Margaret Emerging from the Dragon (fol. 177), **211**
Margherita, Baron Felix de, *33*
marginal notations, *62*, *329*, *330*
Marie d'Anjou (queen of France), *322*, *344*
Marie de Berry (daughter of Jean de Berry), *319*, *345*
Marie de Brueil, *35*
Saint Mark (fol. 24), **108**, ***109***
Martellange, Étienne, *13*
Saint Martin and the Beggar (fol. 169), **202**, ***203***
Martini, Simone, *295*, *296*, *298*, *299*, *302*, *313*, *314*
martyrs. *See* saints, and specific martyrs by name, e.g., Lawrence
Saint Mary Magdalen: in *Descent from the Cross* (fol. 80), **142**, ***143***; in *Entombment of Christ* (possibly) (fol. 152), **184**, ***185***, *296*, *298*; in *The Lamentation at the Cross* (fol. 149v), **182**, ***183***; in Suffrages (fol. 176v), **211**
Massacre of the Innocents (fol. 59v), **126**, ***127***, *337*
Masses (fols. 195–221), *55*, *57*, *76*, *78*, **240–60**, ***241***, ***243***, ***245***, ***247***, ***249***, ***251***, ***253***, ***255–59***, ***261***; All Saints (fols. 218–220v), *76*, *94*, **258**, ***259***; All Souls (fols. 221–222v), *61*, *76*, **260**, ***261***; Ascension (fols. 199v–201v), *76*, **242**, ***243***, *327*; Christmas (fols. 195–198), *67*, *76*, **240**, ***241***; Corpus Christi (fols. 205v–207v), *76*, **248**, ***249***, *331*; Easter Sunday (fols. 198–199v), *76*, **242**, ***243***; Exultation of the Cross (fols. 207v–209), *76*, **248**, ***249***; Saint John the Baptist, nativity of (fols. 212v–214v), **252**, **254–56**, **256**; Pentecost/Whitsunday (fols. 202–204), *67*, *76*, **244**, ***245***; Saints Peter and Paul (fols. 215–217v), **256–58**, ***257***, ***258***; Trinity Sunday (fols. 204–205), *40*, *41*, *67*, *76*, **246**, ***247***; of the Virgin (fols. 209–210v), *66*, *67*, *76*, **250**, ***251***
Master of the Bible of John de Sy, *26*
Master of the Brussels Initials, *64*, *73n18*, *73n22–23*, *190*, *214n1*
Master of Charles of France (pos. Jean de Laval), *30n27*
Master of the Holy Spirit, *39*, *40*, *45n49*, *285*, *286*, *287*, *305n56*
Master of John the Baptist, *45n45*, *45n49*, *285*, *286*
Master of the Parement de Narbonne, *23*, *37*, *40*, *282*, *303*, *312*
Master of the Rebel Angels, *296–98*, *299*
Master of the Trinity, *43*
materials and techniques. *See* production of *Belles Heures*
Saint Matthew: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 22), **106**, ***107***; in *Psalter of Jean de Berry* (fol. 30), *26*
Saint Maurus (fol. 174v), **210**, *329*
Maxentius (Roman emperor). *See* Catherine of Alexandria cycle
May: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 6), *60*, **84**, ***87***; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol 5v), *316*, *319*, *323n7*
Mazarine Master, *29*, *30*
medals, Jean de Berry's interest in, *18–19*, *19*, *186*, *290*
Meditationes vitae Christi, *23*
Meeting of the Magi, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 51v), *26*, *290*, *291*

Mehun-sur-Yèvre, château at, *16*, *17*, 35
Meiss, Millard, x, 3, 33, 36, 43, 92n1, 292, 304n34, 332
menageries, Jean de Berry's interest in, 19
Mercière, Gillette de (wife of Paul de Limbourg), 35
Meyer, Jesse, 340n22
Saint Michael, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 158), 61, **190**, **191**
Saint Michael over Mont Saint Michel, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 195), 291, 292, 296–98
Mocking of Christ: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 131v), **172**, **173**, *269*, 272, 288, *289*, 338; painting, Franco-Netherlandish, early 15th century, 288, *289*
model books and pattern books, 290, 298–302, *300–302*
Montebello, Philippe de, vii
Moralized Bibles. *See Bible moralisée*
Morand, Kathleen, x
Morgan Library & Museum, Ms. 865, 8, 323n9
Mosselman, Paul de, 14
Mount Sinai, Angels Carry the Body of Saint Catherine to (fol. 20), 77, **104**, **105**, *275*
Mourners (sculpture) for tomb of Jean de Berry, Bobillet and Mosselman, *14*
Müntz, Eugene, 292

Napoleon I (emperor of France), 18
Nathan (prophet), David Rebuked by (Psalm 50) (fol. 68v), **132**, **133**
Nativity: Christmas Mass (fol. 195), 67, 76, **240**, **241**; Hours of the Virgin (fol. 48v), **118**, **119**, 267, 268, *326*
Nazis, mss. confiscated by, 6–8
Neuschwanstein Castle, 6–8
Neven, Theoderic, 36
New Year's gifts *(étrennes)*, 20, 21, 21–22, 24, 35
Saint Nicholas Saves Travelers at Sea (fol. 168), 3, **202**, **203**
Niessen, Willy, 33
Nijmegen, Limbourg family origins in, 33
Nine Heroes (tapestry series, South Netherlandish, 1400–1410), 17, *18*
November, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 12), **90**, **91**
Nunc dimittis (fol. 65), **122**

Obsecro te and *O intemerata* (prayers to Virgin) (fols. 24v-26v), 26, 42, 49, 56, 71, 75–77, **108–10**, **111**, 338
October: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 11), **90**; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 10v), 323
Offices. *See* entries at Hours
offsets, 48, 64, 75, 78n3, 335
organic dyes and binders, 326, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340n14, 340n25
Orosius Master, 292–95, *294*
orpiment, 325, 337, 338, 340n12
Orsini Polyptych (Simone Martini, Italian, 2nd quarter of 14th century), 295, *296*, *298*
Ovid, 23

painterly technique, 312, 312–13, 325, *326*, 334, 334–35
palette: as artistic achievement, 271, 272–74, *311–12*; available pigments, 325–27; binding media and tempering of pigments, *326*, 326–27, 339n3, 341n39; cracking and flaking problems, 325, 335; gilding, 327; innovations in, 325; materials analysis summary, 337–39; painterly techniques with, *334*, 334–35; in pictorial cycles, 271, 272–74; silver leaf, 327
Panizzi, Antonio, 33
Panofsky, Erwin, 8, 9n30, 304n34
parchment or vellum, 59–60, *60*, *327–28*, 335, 340n21–22
Parement de Narbonne (Master of the Parement de Narbonne, pos. Jean d'Orléans, ca. 1375–1378, Musée du Louvre, M.I. 1121), *37*, 40, 282, *283*
Parement Master, *23*, *37*, 40, 282, 303, 312
Paris *libraires*, 24, 59, 73n2
Paris red, 326
Passion: Hours of (fols. 123–152v), 51–52, 57, 60, 63, 67, 76, 77, **168–84**, **169**, **171**, **173**, **175**, **177**, **179**, **181–83**, **185**, 272, 282, 307 (*See also* specific illuminations, e.g., *Christ Before Caiaphas*); seven prayers invoking Passion and Incarnation (fols. 92–93), 50, 56, 61–62, 77, **152**, **153**, *329*
pattern books and model books, 290, 298–302, *300–302*
Saints Paul and Anthony cycle (fols. 191–194v), **230–39**, **231**, **233**, **235**, **237**, **238**; *Saint Anthony Is Attacked by Devils* (fol. 194), **236**, **237**, *273*, *313*, 314; *Saint Anthony Receives Directions from a Satyr* (fol. 192), 40, 41, **232**, **233**; *Saint Anthony Seeks the Hermitage of Saint Paul* (fol. 191v), **232**, **233**, 265, 307; borders, 67; choice of subject matter, reasons for, **230**, 265; continuity of images in, *273*; *Death of Saint Anthony* (fol. 194v), **238**, **239**; fol. 191, 277n3, *334*; Saint Jerome, link to, **230**; landscape, use of, 311; *Lions Help Saint Anthony Bury Saint Paul* (fol. 193v), **236**, **237**, *273*; *Saints Paul and Anthony are Fed by a Dove* (fol. 192v), **234**, **235**; *Saint Paul Sees a Christian Tempted* (fol. 191), **230**, **231**; *Saint Paul's Soul Is Transported to Heaven* (fol. 193), **234**, **235**; structure and sequence of production, 54, 57, 75, 77, 78; "surprise" image in, 277n4
Saint Paul the Apostle. *See Saints Peter and Paul*
Paul the Deacon, *76*
Pelagius II (pope), 136
penitential psalms, seven (fols. 66–72v), 4, 5, 25, 49, 56, 62, 75–76, 75–77, **130–34**, **131**, **133**, **135**, *336*
pens, *327*
Pentecost
  in *Belles Heures:* Hours of the Holy Spirit (fol. 84), 61, 67, **144**, **145**; prayer to Holy Spirit before Suffrages (fols. 155–155v), 52, 76, 144, **186**, **187**; Whitsunday Mass (fols. 202–204), 67, 76, **244**, **245**
  stained glass from Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges, attrib. André Beauneveu, *13*

Saints Peter and Paul, in *Belles Heures: Death of Simon Magus* (fol. 215), *66*, 67, 76, **256**, **257**; *Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul* (fol. 215v), **256–58**, **258**; Mass for Saints Peter and Paul (fols. 215–217v), **256–58**, **257**, **258**; in Suffrages (fol. 159v), **192**, **193**
Saint Peter Welcomes Duc de Berry at the Gates of Heaven, in *Grandes Heures* (fol. 96), *29*, 29–30
Petites Heures (Jean Le Noir, Jacquemart de Hesdin, and Workshops, 1375–1390, French, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Ms. lat. 18014), *23*, 25, 26, 27, 41, *43*, 348
Petrus de S. Audemar, 326
Philippe I (king of France), 154
Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy (brother of Jean de Berry), viii, xi–xii, 3–4, *11–12*, 13, 22, 24, 26, 29, 34, 36–37, 40, 279, 282, 286, 295, 345
pictorial cycles in *Belles Heures*, 4, 265–77; choice of subject matter, reasons for, 265; continuity of images in, *271–76*, *272–76*; decorative initials, lack of, 63; direct legacy, lack of, 322; economy of structure in, 271; evolution of plan for, 265; format of, 265; palette in, 271, 272–74; reduced landscapes and architecture, use of, *266–71*; rulings for, 61, 265; scholarly or contemplative images beginning, 274, 277n3; in sequence of production, 75–77; "surprise" images in, *275*, 276, 277n4; as vehicle for developing artistry of Limbourg brothers, 265–67. *See also* specific cycles, e.g., Saint Catherine of Alexandria cycle
pigments. *See* palette
Pilate, Christ Before (fol. 135v), **174**, **175**
Pilate Offers to Release Christ (fol. 136), **174**, **175**, 337, 339
Pilate Washes His Hands (fol. 138), **176**, **177**, 289–90, 290, 301
pilgrim's badges, offset of, 78n3
Pisanello, 18
Pisces (February) (fol. 3), **84**, **85**
plague: Institution of the Great Litany and, 265, 277n2 (*See also* Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great); Jean de Berry and, 265, 277n2; Limbourg brothers and, 3, 277n2, 291
Plummer, John, xi, 65
Poitiers, ducal palace at, *15*, *16*
Porcher, Jean, x, 8, 304n34
Porphyrius, Beheading of (fol. 19), 69, *72*, **102**, **103**, *314*
Portier, Thibault, 35
prayers
  to the Holy Spirit (fol. 155), 52, 76, 144, **186**, **187**
  Litany of the Saints (fols. 75–77v), 5, 49, 56, 76, 77, **141** (*See also* Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great)
  Magnificat: Hours of the Virgin (fols. 62–62v), *62*, 63, 67, 75, **127**; Office of the Dead (fol. 101), **166**
  seven penitential psalms (fols. 66–72v), 4, 5, 25, 49, 56, 62, 75–76, 75–77, **130–34**, **131**, **133**, **135**, *336*
  seven prayers invoking the Incarnation and the Passion (fols. 92–93), 50, 56, 61–62, 77, **152**, **153**, *329*
  for travelers (fols. 223v-225), 55, **252**, **262**, **263**
  to the Trinity: after Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (fol. 91v), **146**, **150**, **151**; before Suffrages (fols. 155–155v), 52, 76, **186**, **187**
  invoking the Virgin: Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (fols. 88–91v), 29, 50, 56, 62, 76, 77, **146–51**, **147**, **149**, **150**; *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata* (fols. 24v-26v), 26, 42, 49, 56, 71, 75–77, **108–10**, **111**, 338
Presentation [of Christ] in the Temple (fol. 57), 65–67, *66*, **124**, **125**, 286
Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Taddeo Gaddi, fresco, Baroncelli Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence, 1328–30), 292, *293*
prickings, 60–61, *328*, *329*
printed texts, illuminated books replaced by, 6
Priscian, 23
Procession of Saint Gregory, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 71v-72), 61
production of *Belles Heures*, 325–41; borders (*See* borders); catchwords, 63, 75–76, 329; digital infrared photography used to study, *331–32*, 331–33, 339n4, 341n28–29; fabric interleaving to protect miniatures, 328; gilding, *327*, 330, *333*, 333–34; innovations in, 325; iron gall ink, 61, 329, 336, 338, 340n23; *libraires* in Paris, 24, 59, 73n2; medieval treatises on ms. production, materials, and techniques, 326, 339n5; painterly technique, *312*, 312–13, 325, *326*, 334, 334–35; pens and brushes, *327*; personal notations of artists, 327; pigments (*See* palette); prickings, 60–61, *328*, *329*; quires and quire assemblage,

56–57, 75; Raman spectroscopy used to study, 336, 337; rulings, 60, 60–61, 328, 328–29, 329; SEM-EDS used to study, 336, 338; sequence of production, 75–78; silver leaf, 327, 334; steps in, 59; text (script, rubrics, and marginal notations), 61–63, 62, 75–76, 265, 266, 325, 326, 328–29, 328–30; textual decoration, 63; underdrawing, 330–32, 330–33; vellum or parchment, 59–60, 60, 327–28, 335, 340n21–22; XRD and XRF used to study, 325, 326, 336, 339
Prophet (statue), from Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges, attrib. André Beauneveu, 13
psalms, seven penitential (fols. 66–72v), 4, 5, 25, 49, 56, 62, 75–76, 75–77, **130–34**, *131*, *133*, *135*, *336*
Psalter and Hours of Bonne of Luxembourg (Jean Le Noir and Workshop, Paris, before 1349, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection, 1969, 69.86), 25, 26
Psalter of Jean de Berry (André Beauneveu, French, ca. 1386, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 13091), 13, 26
psalters, 5, 8n12
Pseudo-Jacquemart, 43, 45n50
punchwork patterns, 325, 334
Purification of the Virgin, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 54v), 292, 293

quaternions, 75
quires and quire assemblage, 56–57, 75

Raman spectroscopy, 336, 337
Raymond Diocrès, Saint Bruno, and Carthusian Order cycle (fols. 94–97v), 50, 56, 75–77, **154–63**, *155*, *157*, *159*, *161*, *162*; *Bishop Hugh Receiving Bruno and His Companions* (fol. 96v), **160**, *161*, *272*; *Saint Bruno Leaves Paris* (fol. 95v), **158**, *159*, *272*, *285*, *287*; *Burial of Diocrès* (fol. 95), **156**, *157*; choice of subject matter, reasons for, **154**, 265; continuity of imagery in, *272*, *272–73*; *Diocrès Calls Out from His Coffin* (fol. 94v), **156**, *157*, 313; *Diocrès Expounding the Scriptures* (fol. 94), **154**, *155*; economy of structure in, *271*, *272*; *Entering the Grand Chartreuse* (fol. 97), **160**, *161*, *271*, *272*, *272–73*, 312, 323n3; fol. 94, 277n3; *The Grand Chartreuse* (fol. 97v), **162**, **163**; palette in, *271*, *272–73*; "surprise" image in, 277n4; *Vision of Bishop Hugo* (fol. 96), **158**, *159*, *272*, *331*
Rebel Angels Master, *296–98*, *299*
recto and verso, correspondence on, *67–68*, *330*, *335*
red pigments, *325–26*, *334*, *337*, *338*, *339*
reduced landscapes and architectural settings, *266–71*, *285*, *307–8*, *308–9*
Regnault du Montet, *24*, *59*
René d'Anjou (king of Naples), *301*, *322*, *344*
Resurrection of Christ (fol. 198), *76*, **242**, **243**
Resurrection of the Dead, Holy Spirit Master, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 169), *39*
Ribault, Jean-Yves, *33*
Richard II (king of England), *59*
rinceaux and rinceaux borders, *63*, *64*, *328*, *330*
Riom, Sainte-Chapelle de, *15*
Road to Calvary, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 147), *61*
Robinet d'Estampes, *3*, *6*, *18*, *19*, *20–21*, *34*, *38*, *40*, *41*
Roelofs, Pieter, *33*
Roman calendrical system, *82*
Roman de Godfroi de Bouillon (1337. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22495), *308*
Roman de la Rose, *23*
Rorimer, James J., *6*, *8*
Rothschild, Adolphe de, *44n1*
Rothschild, Edmond James de, *6*
Rothschild, Maurice de, *6–8*
Royal Gold Cup (gold and gemwork), *19*, *19–20*
rubrics, *61–63*, *62*, *75–77*, *265*, *266*, *325*, *326*, *329*, *329–30*
rulings, *60*, *60–61*, *328*, *328–29*, *329*
Saint Rusticus, *199*

Sagittarius (November) (fol. 12), **90**, **91**
Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges, *12*, *13*, *22*, *36*, *38–39*
Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, *13*, *15*, *22*
Sainte-Chapelle de Riom, *15*
saints: on calendar pages, 82; Litany of the Saints (fols. 75–77v), *5*, *49*, *56*, *76*, *77*, **141** (*See also* Institution of the Great Litany by Gregory the Great); Suffrages of the Saints (fols. 157–182v), *5*, *52–53*, *57*, *60*, *62*, *67*, *69*, *70*, *75*, *76*, *78*, **186**, **190–214**, **191**, **193–201**, **203**, **205**, **207**, **209–15**. *See also* specific saints by name, e.g., Matthew
Sallust, *Catilinarius* (Orosius Master, Paris, ca. 1418, private collection), *292–95*, *294*
Salmon, Pierre, *29*, *30*, *45n64*, *295*
Salmon Presents His Manuscript to Charles VI, in *Dialogues* of Pierre Salmon (fol. 53), *29*, *30*
Salome Presents the Head of John the Baptist (fol. 212v), *76*, *77*, **252**, **254–56**, **256**, *265*, *314*
Satyr, Saint Anthony and: *Saint Anthony Receives Directions from a Satyr*, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 192), *40*, *41*, **232**, **233**; *Invocation of the Spirits; Saint Anthony and the Satyr*, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 240), *39*, *41*, *230*
Savoy Hours of Blanche of Burgundy (1335–40), *26*, *31n71*
scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry (SEM-EDS), *336*, *338*
Scorpio (October) (fol. 11), **90**
script, *61–63*, *62*, *325*, *328*, *329*
Scything Hay (June) (fol. 7), **84**, **87**
Saint Sebastian, Martyrdom of (fol. 165v), **200**, *329*
Segerus of Weelderen, *36*
Seneca, *23*
September: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 10), **88–90**, **89**, *333*, *334*; in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 9v), *323*
Septiform Procession, *136*
sequence of production, *75–78*
seven penitential psalms (fols. 66–72v), *4*, *5*, *25*, *49*, *56*, *62*, *75–76*, *75–77*, **130–34**, *131*, *133*, *135*, *336*
seven prayers invoking the Incarnation and the Passion (fols. 92–93), *50*, *56*, *61–62*, *77*, **152**, *153*, *329*
Sigismund (king of Hungary), *12*
silver leaf, *327*, *334*, *339*
Simon Magus, Death of (fol. 215), *66*, *67*, *76*, **256**, *257*
Slaughtering a Boar (December) (fol. 13), **92**, **93**
Sluter, Claus, *13*
Smith, Sharon Off Dunlap, *x*
socle of a mourner, tomb of Jean de Berry, *14*, *15*
solar eclipse, *180*, *291*
Soldiers at the Tomb (fol. 152v), **184**, **185**, *242*, *309*, *310*
sources and influences, *279–305*; *Bibles moralisées* of John II the Good and Philip the Bold, *280*, *281*, *281–82*; French and Netherlandish artworks, *285–90*, *287–91*, *314*, *316*; Italian (*See* Italian models and sources); medals, *290*; model books and pattern books, *290*, *298–302*, *300–302*; natural world and events, depiction of, *291*; other artists and artisans, *279–81*; reuse of precious compositions, *290–91*; *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, *39*, *40*, *41*, *282–85*, *283–87*, *312*; *Très Riches Heures* probably copied from same text as *Belles Heures*, *63*, *73n17*
Sowing (October) (fol. 11), **90**
spinefold border notations, *62*, *329*, *330*
Spitz Hours (J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 57), *323n9*
Saint Stephen, Martyrdom of (fol. 162), **194**, **195**
Stiebel, Hans, *8*
Story of Emperor Heraclius, in *Roman de Godfroi de Bouillon* (1337. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr. 22495, fol. 9), *308*
Suetonius, *23*
Suffrages of the Saints (fols. 157–182v), *5*, *52–53*, *57*, *60*, *62*, *67*, *69*, *70*, *75*, *76*, *78*, **186**, **190–214**, **191**, **193–201**, **203**, **205**, **207**, **209–15**. *See also* specific saints by name, e.g., John the Baptist
"surprise" images in pictorial cycles, *275*, *276*, *277n4*

Taking of Christ, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 181), *282*, *284*
tapestries, Jean de Berry's patronage of, *17*, *18*, *21*, *28*
Taurus (April) (fol. 5), *68*, *71*, **84**, **86**
techniques and materials. *See* production of *Belles Heures*
tempering and binding of pigments, *326*, *326–27*, *339n3*, *341n39*
temptation: *Adam, Temptation of*, in *Bible moralisée* of Philip the Bold (fol. 3v), *294*, *295*; *Saint Anthony Temptation of*, in Missal (Lombard, ca. 1380, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. lat. 757, fol. 296v), *300*, *301*; *Christ, Temptation of*, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 161v), *16*, *17*; *Saint Jerome is Tempted by Dancing Girls* (fol. 186), **222**, **223**; *Saint Paul Sees a Christian Tempted* (fol. 191), **230**, **231**
Terence, *23*
text (script, rubrics, and marginal notations), *61–63*, *62*, *75–76*, *265*, *266*, *325*, *326*, *328–29*, *328–30*
textual decoration, *63*
textura formata, *61*
Thomas de Saluces, *18*, *30*
"threaded pots" border design, *67*
Threshing Wheat (August) (fol. 9), **88**, **89**
Throne of Grace (fol. 204), *40*, *41*, *67*, *76*, **246**, **247**
Tiberius (Roman emperor), *19*, *186*
Tiburtine Sibyl, Augustus and (fol. 26v), **110**, **111**
time line, *346–48*
tomb of Jean de Berry, *13–15*, *14*, *26*, *29*
Tour de Maubergeon, ducal palace at Poitiers, *15*
travel and travelers: *Duke of Berry on a Journey*, in *Belles Heures* (fol. 223v), *27*, *41*, **252**, **262**, **263**, *327*; *Duke of Berry Setting Off on a Trip*, in *Petites Heures* (fol. 288v), *25*, *27*, *41*, *43*; in fifteenth century, *302*; Italy, possibility of Limbourg brothers' trip to, *34*, *43*, *44n17*, *292–95*, *304n34*; *Itinerary of the Duke (Duke of Berry and Entourage Set Off on a Journey)*, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (lost illumination), *29*, *41*; *Saint Nicholas Saves Travelers at Sea* (fol. 168), *3*, **202**, **203**; prayers for travelers (fols. 223v–225), *55*, **252**, **262**, **263**
Treading Grapes (September) (fol. 10), **88–90**, **89**, *333*, *334*
Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame (Master of the Parement de Narbonne (pos. Jean d'Orléans) and Workshop, Paris, begun by ca. 1390, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms., nouv. acq. lat. 3093), *viii*, *23*, *25*, *26*, *37*, *39–41*, *282–85*, *283–87*, *303*, *312*, *347*. *See also Turin Hours; Turin-Milan Hours*
Très Belles Heures of Jean de France (Brussels Hours) (Master of the Brussels Initials, French, begun late 1390s, Bibliothèque Royale de

Belgique, Brussels, Ms. 11060–11061), 6, 8, 9n26, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31n61, 31n71, 73n18
Très Riches Heures of Jean de Berry (Limbourg brothers, 1411/12–16, French-Netherlandish, Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly, Ms. 65), viii, x, xi–xii, 4, 8n10, 15, *16*, 17, 25–26, 27, *28*, 29, 30, 33, 34, 40, 43–44, 61, 63, 65, 73n17, 77, 276, 291–95, 293, 294, 300, 301, 310, 310–21, 312, 314–20, 323, 348
Trinity, Adoration of; Creation, Limbourg brothers, in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 225), 39, 41
Trinity and Pietà tondo (Johan Maelwael, ca. 1400, Musée du Louvre, Inv. M.I. 692), 285–86, *287*
Trinity Master, 43
Trinity, Prayers to: after Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (fol. 91v), **146, 150, 151**; before Suffrages (fols. 155–155v), 52, 76, **186, 187**
Trinity Sunday Mass (fols. 204–205), 40, 41, 67, 76, **246, 247**
True Cross. *See* entries at Heraclius and the True Cross
Turin Hours (portion of *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, destroyed by fire 1904), 40
Turin-Milan Hours (portion of *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame*, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin, Inv. no. 47), 25, *38*, 40

ultramarine blue, 325, 334, 337, 338, 340n11
underdrawing, 330–32, 330–33
Saint Ursula and 11,000 Virgins, Martyrdom of (fol. 178v), **212, 212–13**

Valerius Maximus, 23, *41*, 43, 67, *68*, 71, 348
Valland, Rose, 6
Veen-Liefrink, Mieke van, 33
vellum or parchment, 59–60, *60*, 327–28, *335*, 340n21–22
verdigris, 326, 340n18
vermilion, 325–26
verso and recto, correspondence on, 67–68, 330, *335*
Saint Vincent Cast to the Beasts (fol. 163), **196, 197**
Vincent of Beauvais, 23
Virgil, 23
Virgil Master Workshop, *67*, *68*
Virgin
  Annunciation to (*See Annunciation*)
  Crucifixion scene, Fresco, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (Andrea da Firenze, ca. 1365–67), 295, *297*
  in Depositions of Christ (*See Deposition*)
  Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child at the Fountain* (1439), 190, 214n2
  Hours of, generally, 5–6
  Magnificat: Hours of the Virgin (fols. 62–62v), 62, 63, 67, 75, **127**; Office of the Dead (fol. 101), **166**
  Purification of the Virgin, in *Très Riches Heures* (fol. 54v), 292, *293*
  Visitation: Giotto (fresco, 1303–5, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua), 302, *303*; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 28), 37, 282
Virgin, in *Belles Heures*
  Annunciation (fol. 30), *42*, 43, 63–64, *64*, 75, **112, 113**, *268*, 282, *283*, 322, *323*
  Ascension of Christ (fol. 199v), 76, **242, 243**
  Assumption of the Virgin: (fol. 88), **146, 147**; (fol. 91), **148, 149**
  Deposition: Hours of the Cross *(Descent from the Cross)* (fol. 80), 67, **142, 143**, *333*; Hours of the Passion (fol. 149), **182**, 295, *296*
  Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (fols. 88–91v), 29, 50, 56, 62, 76, 77, **146–51, 147, 149, 150**
  Hours of the Virgin (fols. 30–65v), xi, 4, 49, 56, 60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 75, 76–78, **112–28, 113, 115, 116, 118, 121, 122, 125, 126, 129**, 272, 282, 302–3, 322 (*See also* specific illuminations, e.g. *Annunciation*)
  The Lamentation at the Cross (fol. 149v), **182, 183**, 332, 333
  Madonna and Child with Two Angels (fol. 209), *66*, 67, 76, **250, 251**
  Mass of the Virgin (fols. 209–210v), *66*, 67, 76, **250, 251**
  prayers to the Virgin *(Obsecro te* and *O intemerata)* (fols. 24v–26v), 26, 42, 49, 56, 71, 75–77, **108–10, 111**, 338
  Virgin and Child Enthroned (fol. 157v), 76, **190, 191**
  Visitation (fol. 42v), **116, 117**, 286, 301, 302, 303
Virgo (August) (fol. 9), **88, 89**
Visconti, Gian Galeazzo, 295
Visconti Hours (Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Ms. Landau Finaly 22), 301, 305n53
Visitation: in *Belles Heures* (fol. 42v), **116, 117**, 286, 301, 302, 303; Giotto (Fresco, 1303–5, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua), 302, 303; in *Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame* (p. 28), 37, 282

Waagen, Gustav Friedrich, 33, 291
Wapenboek Gelre (Guelders Armorial), 279, 280
Werve, Claus de, 13
white lead (lead white, flake white, or lead carbonate), 326, 334–35, *336*, 337
Whitsunday Mass (fols. 202–204), 67, 76, **244, 245**
Wieck, Roger S., 9n15, 31n71
William I, duke of Guelders, 279
Winkler, Friedrich, 44n17
World War II, mss. confiscated Nazis by during, 6–8

X-ray diffraction (XRD), 325, 336
X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF), 336, 339

yellow pigments, 325, 334, 337, 339, 340n25
Yolande of Aragon, duchess of Anjou, 6, 321–22, 344
Youth and Old Age (January) (fol. 2), **82, 83**

zodiac signs on calendar pages (fols. 2–13), **82–92, 83, 85–91, 93**. *See also* specific signs, e.g., *Leo*

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